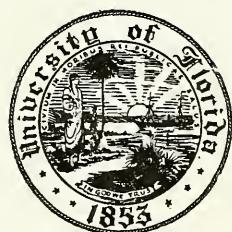


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HELPING TEACHERS UNDERSTAND CHILDREN

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HELPING TEACHERS UNDERSTAND CHILDREN

By

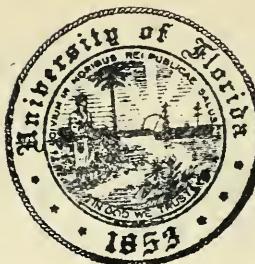
THE STAFF OF THE DIVISION ON CHILD DEVELOPMENT
AND TEACHER PERSONNEL

*Prepared for the
Commission on Teacher Education*

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION
Washington, D.C.

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Foreword

ONE OF THE first acts of the Commission on Teacher Education was to take steps designed to help widen and deepen understanding of human growth and development, especially of the growth and development of children. It was not only impressed by the basic professional importance of such understanding for teachers, it was also convinced that the significance for them and their work of many recent research projects had thus far been but imperfectly realized. A staff member, Daniel A. Prescott, was accordingly asked to develop plans for activities in this area and, upon approval of such plans, special funds were sought to make it possible to put them into effect. The General Education Board, which had already supported many studies in the field of child growth and development, responded generously to the Commission's request and Dr. Prescott undertook to serve as head of the consequently created division on child development and teacher personnel.

Through this division the Commission carried on, from 1939 to 1944, a considerable program. A collaboration center was established in quarters provided by the University of Chicago, to the faculty of which institution Dr. Prescott was appointed at about this time. At this center an unusual store of research material was collected and here, for several years, the Commission enabled representatives of college and school faculties to seek out and synthesize the implications of such findings for use in the education of teachers. All told, some fifty individuals—research specialists, professors of psychology and education, directors of student teaching, school psychologists and directors of curriculum, guidance or teacher education, classroom teachers, and others—served as collaborators, most of them devoting a full academic year to such activity.

Many though not all of these persons came from the schools

and colleges that were participating in the Commission's co-operative study of teacher education and other field enterprises. A major purpose of the arrangement was, of course, to enable them to serve their home institutions more effectively upon their return. But the division on child development and teacher personnel also shared in the Commission's general program of field work: its staff representatives went to numerous schools and colleges to consult with groups there respecting projects designed to improve their local programs.

This book is a report of one such project, developed by a particular school system and carried on over a period of years with Commission assistance. It should be noted that the system found means of continuing to support the program after contributions from the Commission were no longer available. The story is appropriately enough developmental: it reveals classroom teachers and principals growing, through the intelligent and persistent study of children, from a level of quite limited insight to one of greatly increased understanding. It also shows clearly the steps whereby this growth was attained. Its purpose is to demonstrate that similar growth is widely attainable.

In the preface that follows this foreword Dr. Prescott explains how this book was written. The Commission wishes to express its appreciation to him and to those many others, named and not named, who shared in its composition and in the activities it describes and analyzes. The manuscript was reviewed by three members of the Commission—Mildred English, W. Carson Ryan, and Ralph W. Tyler—but the authors have, of course, been at all times free to express their own views and they assume responsibility for all statements made. As in the case of all Commission volumes where the contrary is not explicitly stated, the action of the director in recommending and of the Commission in authorizing publication of this report does not necessarily imply endorsement of all that is contained therein.

KARL W. BIGELOW
Director

Preface

THIS book describes the behavior of dozens of school children and partially analyzes the forces that led them to act as they did in various situations. Yet the book is not about children. It is about teachers. It demonstrates how individual classroom teachers and teaching principals gradually deepened their understanding of the causes that underlie the conduct of children, and how they increased their skill in identifying such causes in the case of particular children and groups. The method of demonstration is to supply the reader with samplings of what these teachers wrote at different stages during the first three years of the program in child study in which they were participating. It is because much of this material is so vivid with the life and feelings of children that it seems necessary to warn the reader that it is the development occurring in the teachers that he is especially asked to observe.

Some explanation should be given of certain precautions that had to be taken in drafting this report. The children described in it are real youngsters, still in school. The facts about them and their families, recorded in the effort to understand their motivations and needs, are intimate and personal. It has been necessary to reproduce such facts here in order to show what kinds of information a teacher must have about a child and how that information should be arranged for use in the interpretation of behavior. It has also been necessary to duplicate the teachers' own language with little or no editing, in order to provide convincing evidence of their growth in understanding. For the protection of the individuals concerned, however, all names of persons and places have been changed; nor has the location of the school system in which the study program was conducted been revealed.

The method by which the report was prepared illustrates the

collaborative procedure that so strongly marked all activities sponsored by the Commission on Teacher Education. A detailed two-volume description of their child-study activities was first prepared by the local program leader and a number of the classroom teachers and administrators who had participated in the study. This material was then taken by that leader to the Commission's collaboration center in child development where, during the course of a summer workshop, it was carefully analyzed by the center staff. At the same time a tentative outline for the report here presented was jointly agreed upon. During the ensuing school year the program leader prepared first drafts for each of the sections of the projected volume and forwarded these, upon completion, to the center. There staff members re-worked the manuscripts in order to provide further analysis and interpretation. The new versions then went back to the local leader and her colleagues for criticism and, if necessary, additional rewriting. In this way every question of fact and of interpretation was checked and rechecked, and both the development and expression of ideas became the work of a number of persons. This collaboration is believed to have resulted in a volume that is more truthful about the processes and more expressive of the real values in a program of direct child study than any that could have been prepared by one or two persons working separately.

A number of acknowledgements should be made. The teachers of the school system where the study was carried on now are more advanced students of human development than they were when they wrote what is herein reproduced. They now see many defects in their earlier work and realize that their anecdotes and analyses reveal many weaknesses of insight and understanding. Nevertheless, because of their sincere professional interest in child study, they have been willing to have their first halting steps revealed and their mistakes pointed out in order that other teachers may be encouraged to seek a better understanding of their pupils. The local administration, the program leader, and the Commission staff appreciate this fine professional attitude.

The staff of the collaboration center also desires to acknowl-

edge its indebtedness to the school administration and the program leader for their unflagging cooperation. Without the possibility of receiving personal recognition for the many contributions they made to the development of the study program and the preparation of this report, they have spared no effort that seemed likely to enhance the value of either.

The consultants from the Commission staff who served the school system in connection with its program of child study were Fritz Redl, Caroline M. Tryon, and Daniel A. Prescott. Each made a distinctive contribution and each learned much of value from participation in the study. Dr. Tryon and Dr. Prescott, aided by Mrs. Helen K. Bieker, carried responsibility for the final drafting of this report. To members of the central staff of the Commission on Teacher Education acknowledgement is due for help both in developing the program of child study and in preparing this book.

DANIEL A. PRESCOTT

*Head, Division on Child Development
and Teacher Personnel*

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I

What It Means to "Understand" a Child

WHAT WOULD you do with a child who steals? How would you handle lazy children? How would you handle children who constantly annoy others by punching and pinching? How would you treat cheating? What are the ways to stop so much inattention?

These were the questions asked of a psychologist at his first meeting with the teachers of a certain school system. He was in this community as a consultant, sent by the division on child development and teacher personnel of the Commission on Teacher Education. His function was "to help the teachers improve their understanding of children," and his work was part of a large cooperative study of teacher education launched by this Commission of the American Council on Education. The questions indicated what the teachers felt they did not "understand" about children.

The purpose of the cooperative study was to experiment with various ways of improving both the pre-service and the in-service education of teachers. Twenty colleges and universities and fourteen school systems or groups thereof were involved. The plan was to have each institution or school system analyze its own problems and then experiment with ways of improving its practice. The Commission was to help out by providing consultants, by arranging conferences and workshops, and in various other ways. The present report to the Commission will describe how the teachers in one of these cooperating school systems tried to gain a better understanding of their pupils, but it will cover only the first three years of their work, which is

still in progress and will continue for some years, perhaps permanently.

The questions asked of the psychologist during his first visit might have been asked in almost any of the cooperating school systems. Indeed, they were characteristic of what psychologists are asked over and over again by teachers all over the United States. They indicated the kinds of behavior that teachers believe to be undesirable or wrong in school. Their baldness signified lack of sensitivity to the fact that all behavior has underlying motives and causes; for it is obvious that these teachers were not seeing their pupils' actions as the symptoms of needs, or of aspirations, or as based upon earlier experiences. Their wording showed that the teachers were looking for techniques for managing the behavior of children. Perhaps the most disconcerting thing about these questions was that the teachers seemed to expect answers to them. The inference that general procedures, applicable alike to all children, could be worked out and used effectively to prevent the behavior mentioned, clearly indicated that the teachers did not understand why boys and girls acted as they did.

In this report the challenge imposed by the fact that teachers ask questions like these is accepted. It is admitted that most American teachers do not adequately understand their pupils. We then go on to show how one group of teachers took significant and effective steps toward acquiring deeper insights. Nor are teachers blamed for their failure to understand the behavior of children. As educators of teachers we have not yet developed effective means of evoking the needed understanding through professional education, so teachers as a group cannot now be expected to show greater comprehension than they do. We present this volume in the hope that it will aid in clarifying the tasks involved in educating teachers to work effectively with boys and girls, and with the expectation that the interesting experiments described herein will stimulate others to still more fruitful undertakings.

The general mood of this report will be optimistic. We shall indicate what we mean by "understanding" a child, and we shall

demonstrate that many classroom teachers actually can develop this understanding. The material to be presented will reveal teaching as an intensely interesting profession and show that teachers' capacities for sympathy and friendliness increase steadily as they gain insight into the behavior of children. Our story will show teachers growing in confidence as they learn to gather and order information about their pupils and as they fill in the gaps in their own knowledge about the facts and principles of human development. It will convey their increasing appreciation of the significance of their own daily work as they study the relationships between scientific principles and the facts they have learned about individual children, and so develop a better comprehension of their pupils' actions.

This introductory chapter will describe where the teachers were at the beginning of the cooperative study and will give a general idea of the progress they made during three years of work. Succeeding chapters will describe in detail the activities and experiences through which this progress was accomplished. We shall then present the testimony of the persons concerned as to the value of their experience in the child-study program. Another section will tell how the study was managed, and we shall conclude with a statement of what we believe we learned about teacher education through the study.

EARLY CUMULATIVE RECORDS

The teachers of the school system with which this report deals had been keeping cumulative records of their pupils' progress for a numbers of years. These records therefore seemed a logical place to begin their study. Accordingly, a number of teachers started to analyze their records with the help of local leaders and the Commission consultant. Very little real information about any child was found. There had been a tendency to record only generalized or summarizing statements with very few supporting facts. Furthermore, most of these generalizations were evaluative rather than genuinely descriptive; they took the form of judgments on the child. Worst of all, these judgments were not at all scientific in character; they did not take into considera-

tion the actual motivation or needs of the youngster in question. They were based, rather obviously, chiefly on the relationship between the pupil's actions and the teacher's own purposes, desires, and values.

The following samples, selected more or less at random, from among the hundreds of notations will illustrate the kind of entry these teachers had been making on the cumulative-record sheets:

Henry is a good leader and adjusts well to the group. He is very dependable and self-reliant (grade 2).

Selby is a constant talker and meddler. He likes to tattle on others but resents correction himself (grade 5).

Mary is a precious child. She is very dependable and does excellent work. I was sorry to see her move away (grade 3).

Elizabeth does not work nearly as hard as she should. She has a good mind but does not show up well enough in her studies. She does not play or work with many children (grade 3).

Charles annoys others. He is too boisterous and wants to be the center of attention no matter what is going on. He is so dirty that no one likes to be near him. His family has been helped by organizations so long I doubt if they have any concern about their condition anymore. They could do much better if they were not so trifling (grade 6).

Tess is very quiet in manner but does sneaking things that children do not like. She stirs up trouble when you least expect it. She is very meek when faced with facts (grade 4).

Larry is a very hard child to appeal to. His attitude towards the group is very poor. He has to be pushed to do any kind of work. He is not a good sport and does not enter into games (grade 4).

Beulah comes from a home situation that is difficult to help. The parents are not greatly concerned about her work at school. Beulah herself does not try to help herself. Just recently she was out of school for a week. When she returned she had a new permanent wave in her hair, and this in spite of the fact that her parents have never paid her school fees (grade 7).

Dorsey: I can't understand why the K's do not attend PTA. They are so nice. Father is manager of a department store. Mother stayed

two hours with us parents visitation day. Father made a special trip to school because he wanted to meet Dorsey's teacher. Dorsey is well liked by children. Is always clean and neat and attractively dressed. Does not wear overalls as do many of the other little boys (grade 1).

Hortense is a very spoiled girl. She can be sweet if everything goes her way. She has the ugliest disposition I've ever seen. She pouts if corrected. She demands first place in everything. I do not have to do a great deal about her behavior on such occasions for the children really know how to discipline her. They let her know quite often that she cannot always have first place or the best of everything (grade 2).

Ada Jane is such a well behaved child. It is a joy to teach a pupil who is such a hard worker and so dependable. She knows how to think for herself and work independently. She can be a fine leader but willingly gives way to others who may not be so capable. She is always cheerful and happy. I have not seen her otherwise (grade 5).

Four main factors were distinguished as accounting for most of these recorded statements. These factors appeared to be primary influences on the teachers' judgments about a child and also on their emotional acceptance or rejection of him as a person. They were (1) the child's success or failure in mastering the content and skills prescribed as learning tasks for particular grade levels; (2) the problems met in controlling the child's behavior so that it accorded with the local school code and the teacher's personal conceptions of "good" and "bad"; (3) the standing of the child's family in the community and its relation to the teacher's own social status; and (4) the attractiveness and sympathy-winning power of the child (or his repulsiveness) in terms of the teacher's individual background of experience, personal needs, and values.

Suppose we illustrate briefly how these factors apparently influenced the feelings and judgments which the teachers recorded in the entries above. The question of success or failure at school was back of such statements as "Elizabeth does not work nearly as hard as she should," "Mary is very dependable and does excellent work," or "Larry is a very hard child to appeal to . . . he has to be pushed to do any kind of work." The problem of controlling behavior was the factor determining such entries as

"Henry is a good leader and adjusts well to the group," "Selby is a constant talker and meddler," "Tess is very quiet in manner but . . . stirs up trouble when you least expect it," or "Charles is too boisterous and wants to be the center of attention no matter what is going on." The influence of the social position that a child's family has in the community is to be noted in such statements as "Charles is so dirty. . . . His family have been helped . . . so long I doubt if they have any concern about their condition," "I can't understand why the K's don't attend PTA. They are so nice. . . . Dorsey does not wear overalls as do many of the other little boys," or "Beulah comes from a home situation that is difficult. . . . The parents are not greatly concerned about her work at school." Finally, the personal appeal or repulsiveness of a particular youngster for the teacher may be gauged by remarks like "Mary is a precious child," "Hortense is a very spoiled girl . . . sweet if everything goes her way . . . the ugliest disposition I have ever seen," "He is so dirty that no one likes to be near him," or Ada Jane is "a joy to teach. . . . She is always cheerful and happy. I have not seen her otherwise."

These same factors had influenced all the cumulative records examined. Virtually every teacher had rated the children in terms of their learning accomplishment, the problem of controlling their behavior in the group, their family background and status, or their personal appeal to the teacher. This shows that the cumulative records really described the children less than they described the reactions of the persons making the entries. It was the teachers' feelings toward their pupils and their judgments of them that had been written down. This should not be held against the teachers of course, since they were following the common, accepted pattern of judging children freely. We present this material here simply to illustrate our point that teachers have not been trained to evaluate behavior scientifically, on the basis of adequate information about particular girls and boys interpreted through valid principles of human development. We are led to suspect, moreover, that the habit of dealing with children on the level of subjective judgment and personal bias often must interfere not only with the mutual respect

and friendliness that should exist between teacher and pupil but also with effective learning.

Perhaps we should offer still another example of the prevailing weakness of classroom teachers in this regard. Below are reproduced the entries on the "social attitude and behavior" sheet from the cumulative record on Frederick. These notes indicate that each teacher in turn judged Frederick, some less harshly than others, but that none understood him. In the meantime he was growing up, he was developing as a person. This sheet reflects the climate of teacher opinion about him during this growing up. We could wish that it had been different.

Grade 1: Frederick does not show much interest in school. Rather indifferent to work which others are doing. Is agreeable when urged to take part but *has to be urged to work*.

Grade 2: Frederick is a good pupil in school. Gives no trouble. Very quiet. Likes to read but is careless in other work.

Grade 3: Absent minded. Reads much of the time. Is not working to the best of his ability.

Grade 4: Inattentive. Reads much, otherwise shiftless and lazy.

Grade 5: A good pupil if he would be more attentive. He could do well in school if he applied himself.

Grade 6: Tends to sit quietly and do little. Consider him lazy. Does passing work in reading which he seems to enjoy. Will not put forth effort in other subjects. Have tried everything I know to get him interested. Frederick seems not to care what happens. Attends irregularly.

Grade 7: Retained. Since Frederick was unprepared for seventh-grade work he was retained. Work is some better. Still reads much. Could help with discussions but will not talk. A very queer boy. . . . Moved away at Christmas.

This record cannot be read without some emotion. One teacher in a lower grade considered him a good pupil, apparently because he was quiet and gave no trouble. The rest thought him "indifferent," "absent minded," "inattentive," "shiftless and lazy," and a "queer boy." Then they asked him to repeat a grade—because he was "unprepared for seventh-grade

work." Finally he moved away. He evidently had preoccupations and troubles of his own, but no friend appeared during seven long years at school to help him solve them and he changed from "inattentive" to "queer." Obviously the school failed in its opportunity to help this boy. If any one of the teachers who worked with him had known how to get an understanding of him or had sought competent help in interpreting his needs, he might have been helped. But Frederick is "water over the dam."

"UNDERSTANDING" A CHILD

At this point the reader may well ask: What do you mean by "understanding" a child? How would the preceding cumulative records have been different if the children in question had been "understood"? What would Frederick's various teachers have recorded about him if they had "understood" him? The answers to these questions will be developed gradually in the next eight chapters. We shall present many illustrations of the changes that actually took place in the records kept about individual children. The context will show that these changes were in the direction of "understanding." In this introduction we can merely indicate in a general way the kinds of attitude, knowledge, and habit that we believe to characterize teachers who "understand" children.

We believe, in the first place, that teachers who understand children think of their behavior as being caused. They see a youngster's present actions as based upon his past experience, as shaped by his present situation, and as influenced by his desires and hopes for the future. This view of human behavior holds that a child's actions can be understood if his relevant past experience is known, if his present situation is analyzed in terms of what it means to him, and if his desires and hopes for the future are taken into consideration. It also implies that every girl and boy is educable, that unacceptable behavior can be changed, and that desirable and effective action can be evoked. This, we think, can be accomplished by arranging conditions and situations that are appropriate to the child's developmental level, capacities, and personal needs; by maintaining relation-

ships with him that are supporting and reassuring; and by providing him with experiences that help him to understand the world and people around him, and that indicate effective ways of acting which he himself can perfect. This point of view is in sharp contrast with the more common conception of child behavior as capricious and impulsive and therefore to be controlled by adults without reference to its causes. We believe that teachers find in the idea that behavior is motivated and understandable a more reasonable and effective hypothesis for their daily work with children.

A second characteristic of teachers who understand children is that they are able to accept all children emotionally, that they reject no child as hopeless or unworthy. There seem to be three bases upon which this fundamental valuing can rest. One is scientific. To say that a child's behavior is shaped by his past experience, his present situation, and his hopes for the future is to hold that it is natural behavior under the circumstances. Teachers who believe this cannot ever seriously reject or blame a child for what he does, because his behavior is seen only as a symptom of underlying causes. This does not imply, of course, that undesirable behavior is condoned. Quite the contrary, inappropriate behavior defines some of the teachers' tasks. Understanding teachers try to gauge what conditions, relationships, and experiences have been and are exercising unwholesome influences on any youngster's actions and attempt to arrange or supply others that will neutralize or replace these undesirable influences.

Two philosophical conclusions reinforce this scientific basis for accepting all children. One is the belief that every human being is inherently valuable and therefore has the right to all the help that can be given him in achieving his best development. The other is the recognition that all children potentially can make some contribution to carrying on the society into which they are born and therefore deserve respect for whatever talents they can put to work for the common good. Both of these philosophical valuations of individual human beings imply that it is the obligation of teachers to accept every child as having

intrinsic worth, no matter what his capacities or behavior. Also connoted is the further obligation to assist every pupil in realizing his potentialities. Whatever may be the root from which develops an emotional acceptance of all youngsters, we have found that this attitude characterizes the teachers who are most effective in their work. We believe that it is prerequisite to a genuine understanding of children.

Our third point is that teachers who understand children invariably recognize that each one is unique. Every youngster differs from all others in the magnitude and pattern of combination of the many factors which determine his characteristics and actions at any given moment. Some of these highly variable factors are body build, physiological stability, available energy for activity, rate and timing of growth, mental capacities, knowledge and skills, attitudes and values, general experience background, number and nature of unusual experiences, relationships to parents and siblings, status with peers, and way of regarding himself. Because of these many variables that influence development and behavior a child can be understood only by a person who knows a great deal about him. An understanding teacher recognizes this and continuously gathers and organizes information about his pupils, uses it to distinguish significant differences between individuals, and attempts to help each boy or girl in ways that subtly take this uniqueness into consideration.

We believe, in the fourth place, that the various sciences concerned with human growth and behavior have demonstrated that young people, during the several phases of their development, face a series of common "developmental tasks." They have to learn to walk, to talk, to dress themselves, to get along in groups, to behave as boys or as girls, to act conventionally in a thousand situations, to read, write, figure and spell, to use money, to respect property, to accept the values that characterize American life, to find a way of earning a living, to select and win a marriage partner, to fulfill civic responsibilities, to arrive at a satisfying explanation of the meaning of life and of the universe—and much else. We believe that individuals naturally tend to work at these tasks when they reach the appropriate maturity.

levels, and that they are disturbed when they fail to accomplish any of them. Understanding teachers know what these tasks are; their sequence and timing in relation to physical, social, and mental maturity; what complications often arise as persons with different characteristics and backgrounds work at them; and what conditions, relationships, and experiences are most helpful to children in mastering each of them.

A fifth characteristic of understanding teachers is that they know the more important scientific facts that describe and explain the forces that regulate human growth, development, motivation, learning, and behavior. The sources of this knowledge are more than a half dozen different sciences, including biology, physiology, pediatrics, anthropology, sociology, psychoanalysis, and psychiatry as well as the more usual psychology and education. An expert or technical knowledge of each contributing science is not necessary, but a working knowledge of their cardinal principles is essential. Furthermore, these principles are not used simply as disparate, independent explanations of one or another aspect of growth, learning, or behavior; they are not simply added to each other until each detail of development is covered. Instead, the interrelationships between these principles are worked out to the point where all of them are combined into an explanatory framework of scientific knowledge. The child lives and acts as an indivisible unit and understanding teachers study him as such; so their interpretive generalizations also have to be knit together into a synthetic whole that will show the interdependence and interaction between different aspects of growth, development, and behavior.

Finally, we believe that the understanding teacher habitually uses scientific methods in making judgments about any particular boy or girl. This means checking the validity of all information about the child and recognizing when the facts are too few to permit sound judgment. It implies knowing what further facts are needed and how to set about getting them. It means that initial conclusions will be regarded only as hypotheses, that alertness in looking for new information will not be relaxed, and that the teacher will be emotionally ready to

modify, or even completely to reverse preliminary judgments about children when new evidence calls for such a change. It means being so thoroughly habituated in using these procedures for making decisions during the daily routine of classroom activities that reasoning back and forth between data about a child and scientific principles becomes virtually second nature.

To sum up, our definition of understanding a child includes contrasting subjective and objective elements. On the one hand, it calls for the subjective acceptance and valuing of individual boys and girls—emotionally and philosophically rooted and serving to reassure and afford security to all children, even when they misbehave. On the other hand, it also implies objectivity in the use of sound procedures and knowledge to interpret the causes of a child's acts, to appraise his adjustment problems and personal needs, and to work out practical ways of helping him master his developmental tasks. We shall show, in following chapters, what a group of teachers did in order to make substantial progress toward understanding their pupils. It must be clear from this analysis that their records underwent great changes.

TEACHERS CHANGED DURING THE STUDY

The anecdotes teachers wrote about children after considerable experience in the child-study program were quite different from the entries they had made previously. The changes to be noted in the "before" and "after" records reproduced below serve to illustrate the progress they made. We should like to emphasize that these were just good average teachers of the sort to be found in most American communities and that they were without any special preparation for this work. What they learned to do any other teacher can likewise learn.

Two entries from the cumulative record of Emily compare records made by different teachers. The first was written while she was in the first grade. The second was done by her seventh-grade teacher after a few months in the child-study group.

Grade 1: Emily never listens to what she is told but does just as she wishes. She never learns to do better by being punished or cor-

rected. She is not dependable nor does she play well with other children. The trouble is that she has never been made to mind her parents.

Grade 7: Emily was out of school for a year due to her mother's serious illness. She was placed with the seventh-grade group because of her physical growth and maturity. She is working below normal grade requirements but has adjusted herself exceptionally well. Emily isn't nearly as happy as she should be because of her tragic home life. I have visited the home on two occasions and find the situation anything but good. Emily's relationship to her drunken father seems to be more satisfactory than that to her nagging mother. The mother tells me that Emily takes up for her father and at times abuses her [the mother]. In school Emily is extremely quiet and humble and, except for the sad expression on her face, one would never suspect her of having any unpleasantness at home. The mother tells me that the father has threatened to kill her [the mother] on several occasions. She says she has two older sons who fight her. Even the boy in fifth grade is beyond her control.

Emily has one or two close friends in the classroom. I am not yet sure whether she has out-of-school friends or not. I doubt if she has time for much relaxation since the burden of housekeeping and cooking rests on her shoulders.

I do believe that Emily gets a good bit of satisfaction out of her classroom friendships. She will not be able to enter high school because of the home conditions. I am trying to concentrate my efforts on helping her to have friendly relationships at school.

Emily was probably facing complex emotional problems in the first grade as well as in the seventh. Possibly some of her problems were very similar at these two periods in her life, but the first teacher had her attention centered on school requirements and on how to control behavior. She judged Emily accordingly. Furthermore, she apparently evaluated the situation without any search for the information that would have shed light on underlying causes of the child's behavior.

The seventh-grade teacher's record differs from the first one in several significant ways. First, she was seeking much more extensive information about the child. She was trying to see Emily's world as Emily experienced it, to understand what deprivations and what desires were operating in this girl's life.

She was interested in helping the child do well in her school work, but this was not her exclusive or even primary concern. Most of all she was trying to provide for Emily a school environment in which the girl would be able to meet some of the basic needs of her personality and in which she could find some release from the tensions of the home situation.

Had the teacher who worked with Emily during her first year, and had those teachers who taught her in the intervening years, approached the child's problem with as much sympathetic understanding as that demonstrated by her seventh-grade teacher, Emily might have become a happier girl and eventually a more useful member of society. The second entry, while far from meeting all the criteria of a "good record," does reveal new viewpoints that came to be characteristic of many teachers during this study. Members of the child-study groups learned to seek widely for their information, they learned to look for causes, they tried to meet the unique patterns of needs that were thus revealed.

The remaining record entries to be included in this chapter were all made by one teacher; they indicate the gradual changes in knowledge, insight, and habitual ways of looking at children that usually took place in those participating in the study.

Several years before the study began this teacher was satisfied to write the following statement about a fourth-grade child: "Is lazy but has improved some." Of another child she recorded during that same year: "Rather stubborn—sulks if things do not go to suit him. Cannot take correction." In 1940 an entry in the cumulative record of another fourth-grade boy read: "Franklin has worked well with the group. He is too shy, however, and will not talk out in group discussion."

In the spring of 1941, after six months of work in the child-study group, this teacher was beginning to understand the value of recording descriptions of specific incidents, and of trying to get an objective picture of what happened. She wrote:

Walter has shown a great deal of selfishness this year. He will bring a ball to school and in the middle of a game he decides that others are not treating him fairly so he puts the ball in his pocket and walks

away. One day when he held up the game, I tried to talk with him but he refused to listen. I went with him to see his mother. She was very cooperative. He has not done that again.

This anecdote about Walter differs in a number of vital ways from her earlier entries. In the first records this teacher tended to make blanket characterizations such as "rather stubborn," "cannot take correction," "is lazy," "has worked well with the group," "is shy." Apparently she felt no obligation to supply any supporting or defining evidence. Her own judgment was enough. The later anecdote about Walter is quite different. In it, when she labels him as selfish, she describes specific behavior that supports this judgment: "he puts the ball in his pocket and walks away" from the group in the middle of the game. Then she tells what she did about it and how his behavior changed. Of course a psychologist would not be satisfied with her explanation and action. She did not seek out the causes of the behavior she judged to be selfish. She was satisfied merely to eliminate the undesirable behavior without trying to remedy the underlying difficulties, but at least she was learning to record specific evidence about behavior that she judged undesirable.

That this teacher made much additional progress during her work in the child-study group is shown by the following series of anecdotes about Willie recorded in the course of the two years that she moved along from grade to grade with the group of which he was a member. The first one was written on approximately the same date as the one above about Walter.

1941: Willie is a good leader when he is in school. He takes part in plays, sings, and does his school work well. He is cheerful and seems to enjoy the group, but he also enjoys playing hooky. He comes to school for several weeks and then stays out three or four days. It has happened more since he was given a bicycle for Christmas. His mother can do nothing with him. I have tried everything I know.

In contrast with her earlier records this teacher now gives much more definite information along with her own valuation of the child. "He comes to school for several weeks and then stays out for three or four days." This pattern of attendance is becoming more fixed since "he was given a bicycle for Christ-

mas." But the teacher still seems unconscious of the fact that there is strong motivation behind the truancy, that she should seek to discover it, and that the remedy must be related to it. Instead, she asserts that "his mother can do nothing with him" and dejectedly adds, "I have tried everything I know."

In the autumn she moved along with the group to the fifth grade and also continued her own work in the child-study group. Excerpts from Willie's fifth-grade record written a year later than the one above are given below:

April 1942: The "laying-out bug"¹ bit Willie this week. He has been out three days. His mother fixes him a lunch to eat at school and he does not go home at noontime. She leaves for work at 7:30 and Willie is supposed to go to school. He takes his lunch and spends the day at various places. Today Helen said as she came to school she saw Willie sitting by the side of the road in some bushes, eating his lunch. I had not had the time to go to see him before today. When I went to his house he wasn't there, had gone to the store for his mother. She did not know that he had been out. Said she would talk to him.

Following day: Willie came to school this morning. Greeted me as if nothing had happened. I did not mention the days he was absent. Instead, I decided to listen to what the children said to him, and what he answered. Perhaps in this way I might find a clue to the relationship between Willie and the other boys and girls. He walked around seeing what other children were doing as he did not have a planned job. Preston said, "Willie, where have you been for three days?" No answer. Mary Louise said, "Now don't you see you have been out so much you don't have anything to do?" He said, "Oh, shut up." I continued watching. Edna said, "Willie, I don't see what fun you have staying out of school by yourself." He said, "That's my business." He then walked over and sat down at his table and asked Tom to show him the spelling words. He said, "Spelling is the only fun at school." I am wondering what reaction is going on in Willie when the group seemingly does not tolerate his staying out. Does he feel that they are against him? Will this make him stay out more? Have they absorbed something from me or some feeling that I am unconsciously showing that I reject Willie because he stays out? I must be careful. The remainder of the day Willie was just as agreeable as he could be, even though at the time he resented the remarks of the different members of the group.

¹ Local term for truancy, playing hooky.

May 1942: Today on the playground Willie said, "Miss A, how about going up again with us [move to sixth grade]? I believe you and I are friends." We talked at length about the fun we had together last year and this year. I said, "Willie, I wish you would tell me one thing. What do you do with your time when you stay out of school? It does seem that the days would be so long." He answered, "Oh, I don't know. I just get tired of so much going on at school and have to stay out. I get tired of their chitter-chatter. Some in our room criticize others too much. I really like everyone in our room. Some mornings I just cannot come to school and try to get along with so many. I like you, Miss A. I just go down to the river and walk around. Most of the time I go to town to the show." When I asked him where he got his money, he said, "I have plenty of money. Mother gives me some every week."

Something is taking place in Willie. I am trying to get at the base of his worries. The surface behavior (laying out) is not the real trouble.

These records were written in the spring of 1942 by the same teacher who, in 1938, felt it sufficient to characterize one boy as "lazy" and another as "rather stubborn . . . cannot take correction." She is the person who in 1941 declared of this boy Willie, "His mother can do nothing with him. I have tried everything I know." But of course she is not the same—old habits have dissolved and new insights have developed. She is no longer able to attach such clichés as "lazy" or "uncooperative" to the boy. She has learned to watch and to listen for new information that will help her to understand how it feels to be Willie. She has begun to get the feel of daily living as the boy experiences it, and rapport with him is the result. He at last can say to her, "I believe that you and I are friends." She has learned the difference between disapproving of his behavior and rejecting and blaming him as a person. She recognizes that "something is taking place in Willie," and declares, "I am trying to get at the base of his worries."

These anecdotes clearly show that when a teacher can believe in and accept a child while at the same time disapproving of some of his behavior and seeking to discover its causes, a relationship with the child is created that takes down the bars. The way is then open to learning more about how he feels and why

he acts as he does. And once such a teacher really appreciates why the youngster behaves as he does, sound judgments as to how to help him can be made.

PURPOSE OF THIS REPORT

This book tells the story of how groups of teachers worked on the problem of replacing old and ineffective bases for judging child behavior with new knowledge and criteria that resulted in more valid appraisals. We shall show how certain teachers made progress in learning to base their decisions on a wider range of information and on a better selection of pertinent facts, and we shall point out some of the essential steps in this learning process. To do this adequately we have to start with the mistakes these teachers were making at the beginning of the study, to describe each change in their activities that constituted improvement, and to stress the kinds of record, action, and attitude that indicate successful accomplishment. More specifically, we shall describe how these teachers increased their skill in gathering and organizing objective, accurate data about particular children; how they acquired background information about the several aspects of human development and behavior; how they learned to relate the pertinent facts about individuals to scientific principles; and so how they arrived at sound conclusions on how to help these girls and boys take their next steps in growing up.

There are several misconceptions that we hope will not be fostered by this report. For example, we repeatedly disapprove of the habit of making snap judgments about children. This may be misunderstood. We recognize that teachers must decide quickly about many things; daily life in the classroom requires it. Teachers must act promptly to assist, to guide, to teach their pupils. Such is their professional task. But every action is based upon judgments and these judgments always are made in accordance with certain criteria or values and on the basis of some knowledge. We do not contend that teachers should not make decisions, rather we shall try to demonstrate how their decisions can be rendered more valid and more helpful to children by a long-term program of child study.

A second misconception that we wish to avoid is the impression that we attribute the good results reported mainly to the work and influence of the Commission on Teacher Education. It is easy to seem to say: "See what poor, misguided, ignorant, and ineffective persons these teachers were when we began to work with them and now see how beautifully they understand and work with children after two or three years in our child-study groups." But such is not our attitude. We recognize that these teachers knew a lot before the study began. We know that the child-study program provided only a small proportion of their experiences during these three years. Especially do we realize that it was the strong professional interest and the tireless efforts of the local teachers and leaders themselves that produced the splendid progress we shall describe. Let there be no misunderstanding—it was not the "outside help" but the work of the teachers themselves that was chiefly responsible for the great deepening of their understanding of children. They held themselves remarkably well to a task that involved learning very complex skills and quite profound concepts. However, it should be added that this book is the study only of a beginning. Nobody supposes that these teachers have finally arrived. They have plans for additional activities that will take them much farther than they have already come.

SUMMARY

In this chapter we have tried to show that the records about children customarily written by the teachers in one school system were essentially records of the teachers' reactions to the children rather than valid descriptions and analyses of the children in question. As a contrast we cited a few records written by teachers after a short period of work in the child-study program.

We also presented an ideal picture of teachers who understand children. There is no claim that the teachers whose work is described in this volume have yet achieved these desired abilities and attitudes in full measure but we do contend that they have made considerable progress toward each of these goals. Our analysis indicates that teachers who understand children

show the following characteristics: (1) they think of children's behavior as caused by a series of factors that can be identified and they therefore believe that boys and girls are understandable and educable; (2) they are able to accept every child emotionally and to respect and value him as a human being; (3) they recognize that every child is unique and therefore they constantly seek information about each of their pupils that will enable them to know the factors that are influencing their development and behavior; (4) they know the common developmental tasks that all children face during the several phases of their growth and what complications often arise as individuals with varying characteristics and backgrounds work at those tasks; (5) they know the more important generalizations that describe and explain human growth, development, motivation, learning, and behavior; and (6) they are well accustomed to methods of gathering and organizing relevant information about a child, of finding the scientific principles to which this information points as explaining the particular individual's maturity level and overt actions, and of using these explanatory principles—together with the pertinent data—as the basis for helping the youngster meet his problems of growing up.

II

Learning to Describe Behavior

WE DEMONSTRATED in the previous chapter that the average teacher not only lacks certain information and skills essential to understanding children, but also has some deep-rooted habits that get in the way of achieving this goal. For example, the habit of judging pupil behavior in terms of its effects on the accomplishment of the teacher's own purposes for the child or for the group interferes with understanding a child; so does the habit of judging pupil behavior on the basis of the teacher's personal prejudices and cultural values. These habits must be replaced by new ones. First, the teacher must think of behavior as supplying the clues to understanding and must learn to notice exactly what the child does and says. Then the meaning of this behavior must be sought in terms of facts about that child, brought into perspective with the aid of scientific principles. Next, these psychological and developmental principles are to be used as the basis for planning ways of helping the child to face his adjustment problems and accomplish the necessary learning. Insofar as good teaching depends upon understanding children, it requires thorough habituation in these procedures.

This chapter is concerned with only three among the many implied changes: breaking the habit of making snap judgments about children's actions on the basis of personal preoccupations; establishing the habit of noticing exactly what a child does; and learning to record clear descriptions of what the child did and of the situation in which he acted.

Naturally, the work of the child-study group on which we are reporting was not launched by having somebody in authority tell the teachers that they did not understand children and

therefore must change the basis upon which they judged their pupils' behavior. Instead, a topic of lively interest and controversy among them—cumulative records—was discussed. The teachers said that the cumulative records currently being kept were a big chore and of little practical help. They reported that they spent a lot of time making entries on the records but seldom were able to get anything useful out of them. The leaders hoped that the child-study group might find ways of remedying this; so a section of the cumulative record of one child, the "social attitude and behavior" sheet, was selected for study. A number of teachers had entered remarks about Ernest, and the group agreed that the result was a typical record, a fair sample of what all of them had been writing.

RECORD ANALYSIS BY A PSYCHOLOGIST

The consultant, supplied by the Commission on Teacher Education, was asked to analyze, interpret, and criticize Ernest's record for the benefit of the group. He did this and his analysis was mimeographed and distributed to all teachers in the study. We reproduce this material in full below:

Teachers' Notes

Consultant's Comment

GRADE 2

A most peculiar child; eyes and ears bad; gets along poorly with other children.

How? What does he do that shows this? List specific cases—too general to mean anything.

Cannot be depended upon.

Again how? What was he to do that he did not do?

Good about bringing in materials which are needed.

What did he bring? How did he act about what he brought?

Not capable of taking any responsibility.

Too general; what responsibilities were tried with him? Where did he fail?

Does mean little things.

What does he do?

Has many fights with other children.

About what were he and the others fighting?

Below standard in all work.

Entirely too general.

Very slow in everything he does.

This is an indication; it tells something about the personality that is very important to know.

Not capable of doing very much.

Be more specific; what *did* he do?

GRADE 3

Ernest shows a very thoughtful considerate attitude at times.

How? On what occasions? This shows he is not *all* bad. This, in his third year, is the first remark to show that he tries to do certain things. What things is not evident in the report.

GRADE 4

Does mean little things; tore up candles other children made.

This is being a little more specific but still not enough. Was he envious because they had made good candles and he could not? Perhaps he liked his teacher, and she did not meet his need for affection. Perhaps he was envious because the good candles made by other children were praised and his was not mentioned. Perhaps there was some feeling of getting even with boys who had teased him on other occasions. Perhaps something had happened at home which caused him to do this.

A physical difficulty might cause a child to act in this way, and many other things also. Therefore we need to record "just what happened" in order to find out how the behavior originated: (1) from a situation in school? (2) a home or outside condition? (3) a physical condition—something inside himself?

Wants to work but cannot get along with others.

You need to give specific cases of when he did not get along with others.

GRADE 5

Cannot stay at anything long.

Cannot stay at what things long? There are bound to be some things on which he will concentrate. Is it the things the teacher requires of him which he will not do? Perhaps he is not interested. Specify those things which he will not conclude.

Can be reasoned with just so far.

This shows a bit more. We again know he isn't all *bad*. There are some children who can never be reasoned with.

Hunts up trouble and often finds it.

This tells a bit more but not enough. List what trouble he has started. This may be a vicious circle. He is teased, he picks on children. Again they tease and pick back.

Many times the fights he gets into are his own fault.

These may date back to difficulties between Ernest and other children. Poor attitudes could cause this.

Class tried all year to help him. Went to council several times for further help.

A visit to council might work if there is on the part of the group a sincere attitude toward Ernest and a feeling that they will not tease him. Rather they will bear with him as he tries to overcome his wrong habits. Preaching at Ernest after having teased him will not help a bit and it may do a great deal of damage.

Let Ernest state his side, other children theirs. Teachers should

be professional and listen without taking sides. If, when all the facts come out, it really seems that the fault is with Ernest and the group sincerely feels so without prejudice, then it may be a good thing to let Ernest feel this group's disapproval. A case at times may be used to help the group see right and wrong, but we must not sacrifice our boy in the aim to educate the group. It would depend a great deal on what the teacher felt would happen to him and to them, whether the facts in the case should be pooled in order to decide what is the right thing to do.

Had to be punished and it helped him. Tried harder to behave.

How did the punishment help him? Teacher should try to answer that. Did it help Ernest to conform to the wishes of the teacher, or did it help him to have a better attitude toward behavior and against fights? Teacher may succeed in changing the outward appearances but not the inner thoughts and feelings. The trouble may be smouldering and at home or after school hours, when away from the teacher, Ernest may continue his fights. There may be a place for punishment, but it needs to be weighed carefully. Group displeasure is one punishment if it is honest—no artificial attitude just because "teacher expects us to take that attitude toward it." Later pupils may talk sympathetically to Ernest and then no good is done.

Is a pathetic person in a way.

This shows that Ernest seemed to try and although he could not get far, he is not wholly bad. If the teacher could feel sympathy for him, there must be good there.

Has questionable mentality.

Teacher should not dare to make such a statement. Instead, give an intelligence test and list his IQ, also level of work and indications of reasoning ability or lack of it. Draw no generalizations.

GRADE 6

Ernest was picked on many times because he did not hear well.

Talking about this with children helped. It shows a definite indication of trouble. This difficulty alone would make Ernest feel that others were against him. If the group responded, this shows that they have accepted him and are not against him, so that eliminates one item.

Ernest improved greatly when given responsibility. He was made monitor and enjoyed this.

This shows again that he was accepted by the group, or he would have had difficulties here. Shows teacher understanding and willingness to work with Ernest, which it takes if we want to get any kind of results.

Takes part in all kinds of activity and does fairly well.

This shows something in improvement. What might be causing this improvement? This should be considered. Is it what happens at school? Change of interests? Attitudes changing (in Ernest or in the group)? Fact that they realize his deafness and help him? Fact that he has eye glasses? Teacher becoming more patient as she watches Ernest's behavior and is beginning to get a better understanding?

The teachers in the study group were surprised by this analysis. They were struck by the fact that they had gone on year after year putting down judgments about this child with so little supporting evidence. They could see that they had described how they themselves had reacted to the boy more often than how he had really behaved. They noticed that the record seldom provided information that would indicate the child's own motives and attitudes and that it did not supply a convincing picture of how the school had helped him in the process of growing up. The teachers then began to examine the cumulative records of other children; they looked up what they individually had written about particular boys and girls. In the end they came to the conclusion that most of the statements they had made were empty and worthless generalizations.

OBSERVING PARTICULAR CHILDREN

This study of cumulative records led to agreement on a program of action. With the advice of the consultant, the teachers decided to select one or two children apiece in their own classrooms as objects of special study during the year. Initially, they tended to choose children who gave them trouble or who had rather severe problems. But we thought that it would be better for them to get a picture of what an average child faces in the course of growing up; so they finally agreed that one child should be normal, well adjusted, and without acute problems. A second child, who did have something of a problem, also might be studied if the teacher wished. It was further agreed that the first step to be taken was that of writing two or three anecdotes a week about each child. These were to be brief descriptions of exactly what the youngster did or said and of the situation that led up to the action or comment. In general, evaluations of behavior were to be withheld until many anecdotes about each individual had been accumulated. It was recognized, too, that much supplementary information about the child would be needed as a basis for valid interpretation of the anecdotal records, and it was agreed that such facts should be assembled gradually and incorporated into the record as collected. But the chief feature of the child-study project during

its first year was to consist of observing behavior and of writing accurate anecdotal descriptions of it.

This was more easily said than done. Mental habits of long standing can be changed but slowly. In spite of themselves, these teachers usually continued to write what *they* thought about the children they were observing, and how *they* felt about the actions recorded. At best, their first efforts were only generalized descriptions. More often they included interpretation and evaluation. This is illustrated by the following extracts from their records:

Ned is one of the most likeable children in the class. He is pleasant and can be appealed to. He enjoys teasing and sometimes carries it too far but we can forgive him easily because of his disposition and attitude. He is slightly sullen once in a while but whatever he does he seems to be willing to do over again—to admit that he has done wrong and to show that he is sorry. For instance, once on the playground he was rude to another teacher. I tried to talk to him, but he would not listen. Later in the day he asked to go see the teacher and tell her he was sorry. He returned, saying, "Now I feel better." This is his usual attitude.

Chester can be sweet and good but often shows temper and bad disposition. I think it may be due to feeling neglected or that he does not measure up to standards which the majority meet satisfactorily. Chester stays with the wrong crowd too much. He was involved in some trouble in which the school football was missing. Although the "case" was not solved, all evidence pointed to Chester.

Woodward has told me any number of tales which we proved to be false. He took car tickets from his mother's purse, gave them away, and continued to deny it when the evidence was before him. I do not know why he does not tell the truth, but he doesn't. He does not come to school regularly. When brought to school by his mother, he waited in the hall until she left, then he too departed. One morning I saw him get off the trolley in the city before school opened. That day he spent fifty cents fee money which he had been given to bring to the teacher for school materials. He denied this act bitterly. He is not aboveboard with most that he does, gets other children into trouble—talking, playing, etc., and puts on a perfectly innocent expression. When we investigate, we find that he started the punching.

Jack is quite a problem to me. I would like to help him. He comes

late very often. He is always dirty. When he does get to school he takes such a long time getting started on his work. He seems content to sit and dream. There is no expression of interest on his face. When he is told to get started, he moves slowly into action, but then he soon stops work again and dreams. He never accomplishes anything because he does not persist long enough. This pattern of behavior continues during reading, spelling, language, and arithmetic periods, in fact all day long. He has some ability, for the little that he does is well done.

All through the grades he has had the same traits. Teachers in these earlier grades tell me that they considered Jack quite a problem for he had to be forced to do all work. Naturally he failed to accomplish much. These teachers tried many ways of handling the boy. Some worked temporarily, but no technique was found which would solve the problem.

So far I have found no interest in any form of activity. He does not enjoy painting or modeling or construction of any kind. He is not concerned with any subject. He is careless in handling materials and is frequently having accidents with paint. He is extremely clumsy in the use of his hands.

As a rule he does not disturb the group. Only once in a while does he have any difficulty in getting along with children.

He does not want to be bothered and resents having to do the ordinary work expected of the group. He grumbles and claims that I am always "picking on him" when I hold him to a task. When I do insist on a finished piece of work, he takes a long time to arrive at that point: I am the one who is thoroughly punished when the bout is over. Consequently I have not had the courage to live through many such experiences. It has seemed to do very little good anyway. At any rate I cannot see that Jack has made any gain.

One day when he seemed to have some little interest in copying a poem, I tried another approach. His writing was fair so I praised his work and tried to encourage him to do more of the same work later. He never did.

When I call on him for an answer to a question, I get nothing even after I have stayed with him to prepare the lesson. He knows the answer but is just plain stubborn and will not talk.

These early anecdotes are worth some analysis for the purpose of emphasizing how hard it is to break old habits and to modify established codes for judging behavior at school. In the first place, the teacher nearly always recorded how she felt about the child. Examples are:

Ned is one of the most likeable children in the class. He is pleasant and can be appealed to.

Chester can be sweet and good but often shows temper and bad disposition.

Woodward . . . is not aboveboard with most that he does, gets other children into trouble.

Jack seems content to sit and dream . . . is just plain stubborn and will not talk.

These excerpts tell how the teachers reacted to these boys rather than what the boys actually did. But the teachers did not write these comments as records of how they felt about the youngsters. They thought they were describing traits of the children, and they and their colleagues read and reread these statements as accurate accounts of these boys. Of course, a psychologist studying the boys would be glad to find such comments by their teachers in the records because they would tell him how the adults in the situation reacted. But the teachers did not realize that they had been describing their own reactions; they had to be helped to see what really had been recorded.

A second habit revealed by these anecdotes is that of thinking of children's personalities as being characterized by a single prominent trait or way of behavior. Again and again children are summed up in some one pattern of behavior, and the attempt is made to explain what they do as the expression of this single trait. Of course this habit blinds teachers to accurate observation of the interaction between the children's needs and the pressures of concrete situations, which is the real basis for behavior. How this habit colors the records is illustrated by the following excerpts:

Ned . . . can be appealed to . . . We can forgive him easily because of his disposition and attitude . . . whatever he does he seems willing . . . to admit that he has done wrong and to show that he is sorry. . . . This is his usual attitude.

Woodward has told me any number of tales. . . . I do not know why he does not tell the truth, but he doesn't. . . . He is not aboveboard with most that he does. . . .

Jack . . . seems content to sit and dream. . . . All through the grades he has had the same traits. . . . He does not want to be bothered and resents having to do the ordinary work expected of the group. . . . He grumbles . . . is just plain stubborn.

Of course teachers are not to be blamed too much for ascribing generalized traits to children, for in doing this they are merely showing the effects of folk training. It is common throughout our society to label persons with some comprehensive attribute and to accept such tags as sufficient explanation for all their overt actions. But the habit does get in the way of describing behavior objectively. It prevents the teacher from telling *what* the youngster actually did and often from discovering the interplay of factors that gave rise to it. It leads to gross oversimplification and superficiality in interpretation.

A third habit commonly found among teachers starting to write anecdotes of this sort is that of offering an immediate explanation of behavior without marshalling any considerable body of facts, and without figuring out what psychological principles are suggested by the data as providing valid hypotheses on which to work with that individual. Examples follow:

Chester . . . often shows temper and bad disposition. I think it may be due to feeling neglected or that he does not measure up to standards which the majority meet satisfactorily.

Jack never accomplishes anything because he does not persist long enough. . . . When I call on him for an answer to a question, I get nothing even after I have stayed with him to prepare the lesson. He knows the answer but is just plain stubborn and will not talk.

We must recognize that teachers are face to face with children constantly in active situations. They have to take hold and get results. The nature of their work and repeated pressure from parents, principals, and supervisors all influence them to make up their minds about children's behavior from the first moment of contact and thereafter to deal with the children on the basis of these interpretations. Nevertheless it is one thing to make immediate decisions at the beginning of the school year, for the sake of effective group organization and activity, and quite another thing to continue indefinitely to accept these first

hypotheses as established facts. Initial interpretations always need revision. It is most important for teachers to develop the disposition constantly to test and clarify their hypotheses about why different children behave as they do. It is vital that they be continually on the lookout for additional facts that will add to their understanding of a child. It is important for them to learn to withhold "final" conclusions about the attitudes and motivation of individuals until they can base these judgments upon facts that give a reasonable probability of scientific validity. Especially do they need the habit of frequently rechecking their conclusions in the light of new facts.

FOUR TYPES OF ANECDOTE

Relatively late in the study, after we had analyzed hundreds of anecdotes written by the teachers, we found that we were distinguishing between four types of statement found in the anecdotes. We now believe that the process of learning to write the more useful anecdotes could have been speeded up considerably if the teachers in the group had been taught rather early to distinguish between these four types of statement. On the other hand, we might have killed spontaneity and lost much valuable material by the early application of such formal methods of analysis. Opinion among the teachers was divided on this point. Some said they wished they could have had such guidance from the beginning but others have disagreed, saying that they would have become too self-conscious about what they were writing. At any rate, here is our description of the four types of entry we found:

1. Anecdotes that evaluate or judge the behavior of the child as good or bad, desirable or undesirable, acceptable or unacceptable . . . evaluative statements.
2. Anecdotes that account for or explain the child's behavior, usually on the basis of a single fact or thesis . . . interpretive statements.
3. Anecdotes that describe certain behavior in general terms, as happening frequently, or as characterizing the child . . . generalized descriptive statements.

4. Anecdotes that tell exactly what the child did or said, that describe concretely the situation in which the action or comment occurred, and that tell clearly what other persons also did or said . . . specific or concrete descriptive statements.

Once we began to experiment with analyzing anecdotes in terms of these concepts, we found that the teachers were very much interested. We shall present a few illustrations of such analysis. Italics indicate the words or phrases that serve to characterize the anecdote. An evaluative statement:

Julius talked loud and much during poetry; wanted to do and say just what he wanted and *didn't consider the right working out of things*. Had to ask him to sit by me. Showed a *bad attitude* about it.

An interpretive statement:

For the last week Sammy has been a perfect Wiggle Tail. He is *growing so fast he cannot be settled*. . . . Of course the *inward change* that is taking place *causes the restlessness*.

A generalized description:

Sammy is *awfully restless* these days. He is *whispering most of the time* he is not kept busy. In the circle, *during various discussions*, even though he is interested, his *arms are moving or he is punching the one sitting next to him*. He *smiles when I speak to him*.

A specific description:

The weather was *so bitterly cold* that we *did not go* on the playground *today*. The children played games in the room during the regular recess period. *Andrew and Larry chose sides* for a game which is *known as stealing the bacon*. *I was talking to a group of children in the front of the room while the choosing was in process* and *in a moment I heard a loud altercation*. Larry said that *all the children wanted to be on Andrew's side* rather than on his. Andrew . . . remarked, "*I can't help it if they all want to be on my side*."

Mixed description, evaluation, and interpretation:

Lately Larry has shown marked interest in a little girl in the grade [*generalized description*]. . . . I am a little concerned over this particular friendship [*evaluation*]. The girl comes from a much better home than most [*evaluation*] but has a stepmother toward whom she is antagonistic [*interpretation*]. She has spent her life from earliest childhood pretty much as she pleased [*interpretation*]. . . .

Briefly she is a child who has obtained sex knowledge in the wrong way [*evaluation*] and she is anxious at all times to impart her learning to others [*interpretation*]. She is a very attractive looking child but most tempestuous [*generalized description*]. Every boy in the room seems to be attracted to her [*generalized description*] and she is well aware of the fact [*interpretation*]. Perhaps Larry is only one of the herd, but I can already tell that Alice's influence is making itself felt [*interpretation*].

Such mixed statements that alternately describe, interpret, and evaluate are very common. Sometimes a teacher began by describing an incident, got enticed by some fact into offering an interpretation, and before she realized it was formulating a broad evaluative generalization. This may be illustrated as follows:

King told me today that he was working hard so that he would make a good record in high school and college. Said he wished that he could play football but guessed he would not be strong enough as he could not even play with boys in the fourth grade [*specific description of King's comments*]. To show that he is a sport he said, "Well, I guess I won't miss any of the games even though I can't play" [*interpretation of reason for comments*]. He really has the spirit and will get somewhere some day with that and his good mind [*evaluation, interpretation—what the teacher thinks of him*].

Later in this report we shall present extensive sequences of anecdotes written about individual pupils over periods of a year or two. In general these long records reveal that teachers gradually learned to include more and more specific description in their anecdotes and to refrain from immediate evaluation and interpretation. This, of course, is what we desired. But teachers are human, and even two years of practice did not serve to train them to limit their anecdotes entirely to specific description. We tried to get the teachers to withhold their evaluations and interpretations until they had accumulated anecdotes for at least two or three months so that their appraisals would be based on more extensive and objective evidence, but many of them continued to write anecdotes that were mixtures of all four types of statement.

We must, however, admit that an examination of the anec-

dotes actually written showed certain advantages in not limiting them entirely to specific description. Some of the generalized descriptions gave excellent pictures of children in action. Again, some of the interpretations made on the spur of the moment captured the moods of interacting children in a fashion that would have been well-nigh impossible by straightforward description. Finally, some of the departures from description obviously indicated natural attempts on the part of teachers to apply new knowledge or insight or to express new points of view. We even suspect that the very writing of some interpretive and evaluative anecdotes had a part in crystallizing concepts or clarifying attitudes and so contributed to the development of understanding. All this is by way of saying that, while specific description is generally to be sought and applauded in anecdote writing, leaders should not insist on it too rigidly, because individual teachers will want and need the chance to try out and clarify their emerging concepts and attitudes in relation to the specific situations and children they are describing.

The longer sequences of anecdotes also show that, as the study progressed, the teachers gradually increased their sympathy and their empathy with the children they were studying. These tendencies to identify with the child and to sense how he feels in a given situation are important factors in helping teachers to accept him emotionally. We must not be very critical, then, of a teacher who "interprets" or "evaluates" a situation in the process of recording it, if this interpretation grows out of a spontaneous feeling for or with a child. The classroom cannot be a place that stirs no emotion in a teacher who is sincerely interested in the wholesome development of boys and girls and who is beginning to understand the full meaning of situations for individual children. So it is natural and not amiss for teachers sometimes to break through in anecdotes with statements of how they felt about certain happenings and of how they interpreted them. The important thing is for teachers to learn to recognize what they have done. Occasional lapses into interpretation and evaluation are, then, even to be encouraged, providing the teachers recognize that most of their anecdotes should be

specific descriptions in order to assure the validity of periodic appraisals of the child's developmental tasks and progress in mastering them.

CHOOSING INCIDENTS TO DESCRIBE

Among the first questions that arose in connection with writing anecdotes were: "What shall I write about? Children are doing things all day long. What incidents shall I choose for inclusion in the anecdotal record?" Members of the study group were told in response to write about whatever seemed significant. Naturally they began by concentrating on matters that had long been uppermost in their minds and as a consequence overlooked many other incidents that were vitally important to the child's development. They usually began by writing about an individual's success or failure at school tasks, about occasions when he disturbed the group situation or helped get something done or about matters that revealed their own emotional reactions to the child or his family. These preoccupations that initially ruled the teachers' choices of incidents are illustrated below:

School task:

I gave Jack an assignment to work out at home for discussion period the following day. He was to locate material in two books and to make a report to the group. When time came for his report he had nothing to offer and no excuse. He just had not read the material. I had selected easy books which I was sure he could manage to read without help from anyone. We stayed after school until he had prepared the report and I made him understand that he would be called on every day until he had made the report to the class. The following day he managed to make a few statements on the topic to the other children.

Helping:

Benjamin was asked by the teacher to go to the other teachers and collect the milk money before the dairyman arrived. He came back with the correct amount. The teacher thanked Benjamin and he replied, "I enjoyed doing it, Miss B, I will be glad to help you next time."

Disturbing:

Sammy has been for several days playing with his yo-yo in school. I warned him several times. At last I just had to take it. His face showed that he hated to give it up, but he managed to smile. He did not argue about it as some boys would have done. He wrote an interesting story about losing his good friend.

Family status:

What a leader! What an actress! Lucille enjoys to the fullest taking on responsibility—she is chairman of committees, reads to the group and does many other things to help the class. . . . Father is manager of a fertilizer company. He takes part—an active part—in all community life. Spoke at the community meeting. Far above the average in leadership among the parents. . . . Father and mother support the school at all times. The mother is young—very attractive—a grade mother. When I visited her she talked about her house-keeping, her guests, going out to social events with her husband, her children. She seemed very happy.

Emotional reaction to the child:

King's vocabulary is amazing. His current interest and information are wonderful. He is the most unusual and interesting child I've ever taught. . . . King has been feeling fine since Christmas, the same unusual child. He is the only child in my room who really feels like saying anything he wants to to me.

It was natural and inevitable that the teachers would notice and remember most readily the classroom incidents that were of special interest and concern *to them*. It was also natural of them to write anecdotes about happenings that touched their own preoccupations. But it was a part of the study procedure to have frequent group meetings at which the anecdotes of different teachers were read and discussed. As a result, they gradually came to see that some anecdotes were much more meaningful than others. Attention was thus gradually redirected toward happenings that were of greater importance *to the child*. Afterwards, when incidents occurred in the various classrooms that called to mind these more meaningful anecdotes, the teachers, of course, began to take notice of them and to record them. In this way, without any checklist to channel and limit their ob-

servations, these teachers gradually took their cues as to what was important from the children themselves.

At the same time they were reading case histories that had been printed in various books and they were hearing occasional lectures by visiting psychologists from the Commission's collaboration center. In the course of time new conceptions of what is important in the process of growing up began to form in their minds. As a result they began to notice classroom incidents that illustrated these ideas, and their selection of material for the records gradually came to be governed by its relevance to the child's development. This, of course, was one of the major reasons why we suggested that the teachers keep these records. The obligation to write anecdotes led them to observe a child's behavior and feelings from day to day in relation both to his schoolroom situation and to his developmental tasks. It was this continual and sensitive daily contact with the children that in the long run gave these teachers a realistic sense of what is involved in the process of growing up in the United States.

SOME EXCELLENT ANECDOTES

We shall now reproduce some examples of what we regard as excellent anecdotes. They contain much specific description, the incidents are very well chosen for content, and they permit important inferences about the child's development.

While reading the "Run-Away Engine," Pressley (grade 1) often interrupted to say that just the same things that happened to the engine had happened to his grandfather when he drove *his* engine. Even when the Run-Away Engine jumped the drawbridge and the coal car fell onto a barge below, that had happened to his grandfather, too. . . . Some mules passed our window. Pressley said his grandfather has two mules, one is white and one is red. Pulled up one trouser leg before scrubbing tables—said that helped him work. . . . I saw him from a little distance going home, his trouser leg still up and his arm tucked into his shirt with the sleeve hanging empty as though he were playing "broken arm."

Olga (age 13) came in today upset. She said, "We are having to move this week. The company officials say that we'll have to give up the house we are in since the house we live in is a house used for

the assistant superintendent of the factory. Of course, as long as daddy was living and was one of them we were supposed to live there, but now we can't."

During the work period Larry (age 11) came to me and as he whittled a propeller for a plane asked, "Miss S, how can you have someone have confidence in you?" I told him various ways with concrete illustrations and then asked, "Are you thinking of a friend?" "Yes'm, a boy who doesn't like me but I like him." "Is he in this grade?" "No'm. He's in another room." We had quite a little talk about the matter and he asked me if I would lend the boy money in an effort to win his approval. I advised against this and told him that there were numerous better ways of winning friendship and suggested some.

On the playground today I overheard Bessie say, "Don't you think King (age 10) is ugly?" Susan answered, "Hush, I've heard that enough." I wonder if King has overhead anything about his appearance. . . . We were having a show—King suggested that he and another boy be black-faced comedians. They put on a good show.

Sam (age 12) showed a decided preference for Dora today. Asked to help her committee put up curtains. Said that "girls hardly know how to put up curtain fixtures straight like they should be." Painted a picture with Dora. Told me that he would probably learn to paint a little better if he could paint with an artist like Dora. I wasn't so sure. He especially enjoyed our poetry appreciation period. Asked for "Sea Fever," "Moon Folly," and "Overheard on a Salt Marsh." When James asked for "Hiding," he said, "Oh, boy, stop asking for those baby poems."

These anecdotes are especially good because they describe significant happenings so well. Furthermore, they report so much in the child's own words. They tell both what was done and what was said. One can almost hear the children talking and see them in action. We consider this an important characteristic of good anecdotes. To be sure, the reports do contain here and there the writer's personal comment on the situation or interpretation of some action, such as "Olga came in today upset," or "Sam showed a decided preference for Dora." Whether such remarks are to be considered desirable or not really depends upon their soundness and validity. If the teachers' diagnoses are correct, then, coming as they do at the beginning of the

report, the comments direct the reader's attention to the significance of what is to follow. It is because diagnosis is seldom as relatively easy as it seems in the above instances that we warn against cultivating the habit of including too many interpretive statements.

While this is not the place to go extensively into the interpretation of case material, it is important to repeat in passing that another reason for thinking well of these anecdotes is that they suggest many important hypotheses about the children being described. For example, Pressley over and over again identifies himself, in fantasy, more or less directly with some dramatic incident—*his* grandfather was in a runaway engine that jumped a drawbridge, *his* grandfather has two mules, *he himself* plays “broken arm.” Olga reveals that her father’s death entails loss of social standing in that the family is forced to move out of the assistant superintendent’s house. Larry is puzzled over the problem of winning friendships. The comments of two girls about King’s personal appearance raises the question as to whether the boy is sensitive and this is answered a little later by his ingenious suggestion that he be a black-faced comedian, thus covering up his ugliness and still finding a way to play an important social role. Sami makes the characteristic attempts of an early adolescent to hide his preoccupations by explaining that girls “hardly know how to put up curtain fixtures straight” and that it would help him to paint better if he worked next to an expert. But he lets the cat out of the bag when he urges another boy to “stop asking for those baby poems.”

SUMMARY

In this chapter we have wanted to suggest how difficult it really is to develop skill in writing specific descriptions of the behavior of children in characteristic situations. We have shown that this is true because it means breaking away from many habits of long standing, such as reacting according to the significance of the episode for the writer rather than for the child being studied, characterizing a child in terms of only a single

personality trait, and tending to make snap judgments and immediate interpretations on inadequate evidence.

Our analysis of the statements written about children by members of the child-study groups over a period of more than two years showed that most of them could be classified according to the following scheme: evaluative statements, interpretive statements, generalized descriptions, and specific or concrete descriptions. Of these types the specific descriptions were judged to be of most value. Individual anecdotes frequently contained statements of all four kinds.

At first teachers had difficulty in deciding what incidents to describe as they studied individual children. Their initial choices were based largely upon the following considerations: the child's success or failure in school work, the child as a disturbing or helpful element in carrying on classroom routine, the status of the child's family in the community, and the child's personal attractiveness or repulsiveness to the teacher. As time went on, however, these teachers selected incidents more and more because of their significance in connection with the children's particular developmental tasks. There was thus a definite shift in what the teachers recognized as important.

We concluded with a series of anecdotes that we considered excellent; they illustrated the real skill in describing human behavior that can be developed by people without previous special training.

III

Seeing the Child as a Member of a Family

DR. JAMES PLANT, of the Essex County Juvenile Clinic in New Jersey, often remarks that one of his important duties is "to help teachers realize that children are not born anew every morning on the doorstep of the school." This is another way of saying that everything that has happened to a child has a part in shaping his interests, attitudes, and actions. Even the kindergarten or first-grade teacher faces a group of highly individual personalities, already complexly organized before their first day of school. Each youngster has his own unique combination of experiences. Each has come to think of himself and of his world in his own special way. Each has worked out his own techniques for meeting and dealing with his world.

To a large extent their families have shaped these unique personalities. Furthermore, the home forces that have functioned in the past will continue to operate—will continue to express themselves in the child's behavior—even in the classroom. These forces are powerful. Important among them are the child's own needs for love and for belonging; they bind him in the family constellation whether for good or ill. To understand why each youngster thinks, feels, and acts as he does, one must therefore know something of his family.

Most teachers are aware of the importance of the family in making a child what he is, but their ideas about how the influence operates are usually vague. Besides, a number of factors frequently conspire to prevent teachers from getting to know their pupils' families well. Heavy schedules and extra tasks at school often do not allow time for home visits. Certain preju-

dices and differences in cultural background put up strong barriers. Some teachers are diffident about "calling on comparative strangers"; others complain that they "haven't studied interviewing" and don't know what to talk about or "how to ask questions politely." A few frankly are "not that much interested" in any particular child, and many fail to see any professional value in knowing the home situation at firsthand. Some are afraid that the parents might start interfering at school.

Nor have most school systems encouraged their classroom teachers to become well acquainted with their pupils' families. Time to make home visits is rarely offered, and recognition is seldom extended to individuals who make strong efforts in this direction. Some school principals even direct their teachers to stay away from pupils' homes and require that all contacts between school and home be made through them. Fortunately, the present trend is the other way. School administrators gradually are becoming aware of the vital role that good teamwork between home and school can play in the development of children. Yet, despite this trend, failure to understand boys and girls in terms of their family relationships remains one of the most disturbing deficiencies of American school people the country over.

In the child-study program here described both local administrators and Commission consultants emphasized from the outset the great importance of seeing every child in his family setting. As a matter of fact, most of the teachers in this community had been aware for some years of the values to be gained by establishing and maintaining friendly relationships with parents. It had become a tradition to visit the home of every child as early in the school year as possible. The teachers also had been zealous to make as many other types of contact with parents as could be managed. Fathers and mothers had been encouraged to visit classrooms frequently, and school people and parents had been planning and working together on many community enterprises as well as on school affairs. It had been generally recognized that these contacts had built many wholesome relationships that had worked to the advantage of children.

This acquaintance with homes had influenced the teachers

considerably before the Commission launched its cooperative study. So the beginning of the child-study project found the teachers already quite conscious of the sanitary, physical, and economic conditions that surrounded their pupils. It found them aware of the varying degrees of cordiality and cooperativeness that could be counted upon in different children's homes. On the other hand, most of the teachers knew relatively little about the vital interpersonal and cultural factors in the homes that were shaping the youngsters' development. This chapter will, therefore, be devoted to reporting how the teachers in the child-study group gradually became sensitive to these additional elements and how the resulting deeper understanding of the children's family relationships changed their ways of dealing with both children and parents.

To be more explicit, we shall show how teachers came to recognize that parents are individual personalities, each with his own enduring preoccupations, beliefs, values, and anxieties. We shall picture teachers discovering the unique aspirations and expectations that many parents have for particular children and press upon these children. We shall see them noticing the differences among parents in the techniques used for handling girls and boys. We shall find them discovering the effects on children's behavior of the temporary crises of one sort or another that occur in all families. We shall show them studying the patterns of relationship that bind father, mother, brothers, and sisters together with profound emotional ties. We shall see them discovering that each family identifies itself with certain values and ways of behaving that mark different segments of American society. We shall find that some teachers had more difficulty in understanding and accepting certain family situations than they did in accepting the personal oddities of a child, doubtless because of the intervention of their own values and prejudices, developed by their own family backgrounds.

PLANNING HOME VISITS

Before presenting detailed reports of teachers' interaction with parents, it is desirable to describe how they prepared for a

more careful study of the home environments. Although they admitted the importance of the information sought, members of the study groups were somewhat worried about undertaking to secure so many vital and personal facts. Three questions were uppermost in their minds: Will the collection of a great amount of information necessitate more home visits than are customary? How can we find the required time? How can we learn the desired facts without upsetting or antagonizing the parents?

Discussion of the first question brought the realization that teachers have many opportunities for informal contacts with parents outside the home. As already noted, the parents often came to the school to observe the children at work, to talk with the teacher about some incident, to help make something for the room, to assist with some part of the school program, or to bring in needed materials for various projects. Such visits, the discussion brought out, afforded teachers numerous opportunities to get needed information. Other opportunities noted were the occasions when parents and teachers worked cooperatively on such school-community projects as the parent-teacher association, the school kitchen, the community fair, a garden club, the community council, or the mothers' club. Certain social events also were cited as favorable to the development of friendly relationships, for example: the many community parties jointly planned and widely attended by both teachers and parents, and the community picnics sometimes organized by teachers for fathers and mothers along with their children. Members of the child-study groups were somewhat reassured by this analysis of the many opportunities that appeared for the informal exchange of information with parents.

On the other hand, the teachers were still concerned over what looked to them like the difficulties of establishing a deeper understanding with parents. They saw that insight into the constellation of emotional relationships within a family, or into the folkways and cultural values that characterize a family, could not be gained in the course of a formal fifteen-minute call. A number of visits to the homes of the one or two children being studied intensively were seen to be necessary, in addition to the

usual calls at the homes of all pupils. How could the needed extra time be found?

The members of the study groups decided to consult with the administration about this problem, knowing that the officers in question had long placed great value on the development of friendly relations between home and school. They anticipated that some plan would be devised to give them more time for home visits. And they were right. Arrangements were made to hold only morning sessions at school during the first week of each academic year. In this way five afternoons were freed at the very beginning of school so that the teachers could accomplish more quickly their round of visits to the homes of all pupils. This released time later in the year for them to make follow-up visits with the parents of the children they were studying intensively and with the parents of other children whose problems implied the need for close teamwork between home and school.

It is probable that the administrators were influenced to make this arrangement by the earlier experiences of the first-grade teachers. For some years the first grades had operated on a half-day schedule during the first month of school and the teachers had devoted the afternoons to extended visits in the homes of their pupils. By this means they had been able to establish personal rapport with parents, to interpret the program of the school to fathers and mothers, and to win their understanding support of it. They were likewise able to accumulate a great deal of information that helped them to understand their pupils as individuals, and to build up effective teamwork between home and school with respect to the youngsters' successive developmental tasks. The administrators made the new arrangement for the other grades with the expectation that it would help to maintain this fine school-home relationship throughout the elementary school life of the children.

The teachers' response to this new arrangement is well characterized by the following anecdotes written by Fay's teacher:

My first day at school I saw a group of thirty-five youngsters. I wondered when I would ever learn to know them all. From the

blurred whole every child emerged by the end of the first week, an individual, clear and distinct having a yard with or bare of flowers, parents with or minus certain interests, and with or lacking brothers and sisters. Before this it had been months before all this was pictured in my mind. This was due to the fact that our study brought out the importance of knowing the child's background and making a friendly visit to all our parents the first week of school. From these visits I quickly realized I had a group of children whose home environments were extremely different. At Fay's, I walked over bare earth to an empty porch and then into a room with bare floor, a trunk, and a bed upon which lay the sick mother lately returned from the hospital. Ever since, when I see plump Fay come in with a shining face and clean dress, I am proud of her because her appearance shows that she has made a great effort. When she doesn't come looking quite so neat, I realize that she has many odds against her and I determine not to let her ever come all shining without my making a comment upon her appearance.

In general the plan worked well. The teachers approached the parents with the purpose of building a feeling of their common interest in the welfare and development of the children. They also recognized that parents and teachers who knew one another as people could work better together to help the children. Because these visits came at the very beginning of the school year they did much to establish mutual confidence that had so often been lacking when contacts with parents were delayed until something had gone wrong at school. Instead of becoming and remaining defensive because the teachers had made their first visits to straighten out some difficulties, the parents under the new arrangement learned to welcome teachers' visits and even to look to them for help in understanding their own children.

The third question that originally troubled members of the study groups, it will be recalled, was: How can we get the necessary information about family matters without offending and antagonizing the parents? Local leaders and visiting consultants took part in their discussions on this point and helped decide how to proceed. It was agreed that there would be no checklists for parents to fill in nor even a specific set of questions for all to answer. If a parent seemed reticent, no questions were to be

asked. Teachers were urged to make their foremost concern the establishment of a friendly relationship based upon mutual interest in the child. They were advised to let the parents do most of the talking in their own way, and following their own sequence of ideas. It was suggested that most of the needed information would be given without specific questioning, if the teacher merely expressed a desire to hear about the many interesting things that had happened as the child was growing up. Members of the study group were assured that they could rely on their own common sense to guide them not to ask pointed, embarrassing questions in order to learn about the complex dynamics of family relationships. They had simply to ask themselves how they would feel if they were in the parents' place. Insights into such matters were expected to come slowly. Finally it was agreed that notes would not be taken during conversations; the teachers were simply to write down what they remembered when they got home.

HOW THE PLANS WORKED OUT

Excerpts from records made by a number of different teachers are presented in the following pages. Most of them are taken from accounts written fairly early in the study and are based on various kinds of contact with parents. Later chapters will include more detailed reports, given in context with observational records and other data about the child in question. Our material here will be offered under a series of headings that indicate the significant content of each group of excerpts.

The nature of first visits

We shall begin with a series of anecdotes describing visits made early in the school year. They illustrate what teachers recall after their first experiences in the homes of their pupils, tell some of the things that teachers and parents talked about, and show the general quality of the relations that were established.

When I visited Ernestine's (age 9) home, the mother was very glad to see me (so it seemed). We sat and talked in the bedroom in

which there was a piano. We talked about Ernestine's music lessons. The mother asked me to play, because Ernestine had told her how "well" I played. We also talked about Gertrude's high school work.

I visited in Carl's (age 9) home today. I met his mother and Ruby, one of his sisters. The visit was a happy one. The mother had a very friendly attitude. She talked about her children. She and Carl look very much alike. She told me about her boys in the army. Their pictures were scattered about in the "parlor."

The home was clean. It was not in good taste but signs of living in the home and of interest in the home were shown.

The mother was young in appearance to be the mother of eight children—the oldest twenty-five years of age. She talked about Carl, said he was the "baby" but they tried not to spoil him. Said she *knew* him, and if he ever got into anything and I needed her co-operation she'd be glad to give it.

A visit to Edgar's (age 10) home was made today. His mother seemed to be rather quiet in her manner. She did not seem to be very strong. I did not gather much information on this visit. However, I feel that the mother is a friendly person. I must visit her again.

When I visited Hugh's (age 12) home the mother and father and little sister came on the porch to greet me. I saw Hugh through the door combing his hair but he didn't come out until I called him. The father and mother said he had always been a very neat and clean child. They seemed fond of the children. I learned from the father that Hugh had a back-yard garden. We went through the house to see the garden. The house was kept neat and clean. The parents are proud of Hugh's garden. They said that things of that kind keep children at home instead of on the street.

Today I went home with Martha (age 8). I was greatly touched over how glad the family was to see me. I taught Basil in third grade—he is now first-year high school. The mother showed me the baby with great pride. The father, calm and comfortable, sat on the front porch and read while Basil, his mother, and I chatted (and Martha stood by smiling). The mother has pretty flowers on the porch and in the yard. The house is kept well.

The day I visited Roscoe (age 6) I found the home clean and bare. The baby had been very sick. Mother said she never did learn to read and write. She seemed pathetic in her realization of what she had missed. She said her children "came so close together, she used to be ashamed to get out on the street with all of them." She told

me that baby's milk formula was very expensive but she was going to send Roscoe's money for books soon.

Roscoe came in and his mother asked that he play with four-year-old Joe. Later, Larry waked up. Roscoe played well with them and did a good job of keeping them quiet while his mother and I talked.

In each of these instances the teacher's primary concern was to make an effective approach to the parents, to establish friendly rapport. It is obvious that each teacher also was impressed by certain factors within the homes visited and made mental note of them for future reference. One home was described as "not in good taste," nevertheless it was "clean" and "signs of interest in it were shown." Another had "pretty flowers on the porch and in the yard." Furthermore, the teachers gained an impression of what the parents were like. "Carl's mother had a very friendly attitude," while Edgar's "seemed rather quiet in her manner." Martha's mother welcomed her little girl's teacher and showed the baby with great pride. Hugh's parents were not only fond of their children but, as shown by the comment on the boy's garden, were actively guiding their development. Six-year-old Roscoe had responsibility for the care and entertainment of younger brothers.

Study-group discussions of records like the above sensitized the participants to the significance of factors that some of them initially did not notice. The question of what further information was needed always arose, and the possible implications of knowledge and insight already at hand were considered. This give and take among the teachers and their leaders led to a steady increase in the value of the home visits made by members of the child-study groups. They began to understand some of the basic reasons why certain children behaved as they did and to redefine their own roles and purposes toward these children.

Parental concerns and hopes for the child

When a person feels at ease in a conversation, even of short duration, it is unusual if he does not reveal at least some of his continuing preoccupations, his persisting concerns about his own life. Basic values and strong convictions also tend to find

expression. This was true of the parents in this community. The account, given above, of the visit with Roscoe's mother is a case in point. Other instances of the sensitivity of teachers to these personal concerns of parents can be seen in the following records relating to six-year-old Vincent and to Manuel, aged ten.

The first week of school I visited the home of Vincent but found no one at home. Today I visited there again and talked with Mr. and Mrs. W. Mr. W and I did most of the talking. Vincent and Jack were playing ball in the yard with some other boys. Vincent played as well as the others although they were much larger boys.

Although Mr. and Mrs. W volunteered no information concerning Jack and Vincent, I consider the visit a success because when I left I think they both felt I was their friend. When I invited them to visit the school, Mr. W said that he didn't have any education and he hated to visit school because of that. He married quite young and asked me if I didn't think it a pity people didn't learn any better sense until they were older. He talked about his asthma; about having had an opportunity for a good job; and about his consideration of giving up his present job and opening up a store; about moving to another place (he has moved three times in two years). He doesn't seem satisfied.

When I visited Manuel's home the mother had finished a large washing and was hanging out clothes in the back yard. So I visited with her and talked about many things while she hung the clothes on the line. I told her about some of my interests in my own home and I learned about her busy days and some of her experiences. She has an electric washing machine and the clothes she was hanging up belonged to a neighbor. I guess she was paid for doing the washing. She didn't tell me.

The father and mother, six children, and an aunt live in a four-room house. I didn't see inside the house but the back porch was cluttered up and things didn't look neat in the yard.

The mother said they were having a hard time. She said that they had gotten behind financially. Recently the milk cow that they depended on so much had died. She said things were easier for them in the summer when they didn't have fuel to buy and could have a garden. The oldest boy had recently joined the Army. For some time before this he had been without work. An older brother of Manuel's needs some medical attention. The mother said that they were anxious to have this attended to but didn't have the money at present.

The mother said she couldn't help Manuel much with his school

work since she had only finished the third grade. She said she could read better than she could work arithmetic. She was anxious for Manuel to do better in school. She told me that the father was not pleased with his report. As I have mentioned before, Manuel's book money and different fees were paid early in the school year. I am sure they must have made sacrifices to pay these fees.

The baby is about two years old. The smaller children looked soiled and not well kept but they seemed to be healthy. A neighbor came visiting in the back yard while I was there. The mother introduced her to me in a pleasant way.

I encouraged the mother to visit the school. She said she would when she could, but she had so much to do. She agreed with me that Manuel responded better to encouragement than to being "fussed at." She seemed to appreciate my coming to see her and asked me to come back.

The emotional climate of each of these families is clearly perceptible in these excerpts, and in both cases the preoccupations and anxieties of the parents were major factors in shaping this climate. Vincent was living his day-to-day life with a father who was satisfied neither with life nor with himself. Present job dissatisfaction, frequent moves in the past, the vague mention of a missed opportunity, concern about his health, regret at having married so early, and embarrassment about his lack of schooling were the topics of this father's conversation and attested to his basic feeling of frustration. What had this prevailing mood communicated to Vincent? How had it influenced his approach to life and his attitudes toward people? Such questions must have been in his teacher's mind after this visit, and the answers to them, when finally she was able to work them out, would certainly influence considerably her own ways of working with Vincent.

Manuel's family also had its preoccupations in the form of financial worries. These persisting anxieties may have made life seem like a very grave affair, an endless series of vicissitudes shared by all in the family circle. But the teacher's report also reveals that the family believed that education is very important—possibly these parents thought that Manuel would achieve greater economic security than they had if he was successful at school. At any rate, the mother was anxious for him to do better

and regretted that she could not help him with his school work, while the father was not pleased with his report. That this was a serious matter to them was evidenced by the fact that they had paid all of his school fees promptly despite the sacrifices involved. How did this affect Manuel's attitude toward school? It would put many children on the spot. Any failure at school would stir up so much anxiety in them that further failure would be almost inevitable. Manuel's teacher must have asked herself whether this was true of him and, if so, what her role should be both in working with him and in discussing his school work with his parents.

When a teacher talks with a child's parents, much of the conversation is likely to relate to that child because the child represents one of the most important concerns in the parents' lives. As they talk, parents often express their aspirations for the child, the expectations and demands to which they are holding him. They also reveal their own particular images of what the child is and of how he will act. These aspirations and expectations exert a constant pressure upon the child to become what the parents desire. Their images of what the child is like also constitute repeated suggestions to him to act in certain ways. In the following anecdotes we see examples of the images which two mothers held of their children.

Had a talk with Mary's mother at PTA meeting. She spoke of the big difference between Mary and her twin brother, Mark. Mary takes care of herself and won't let others impose on her. The mother told of an instance where Mark had been given certain food that he didn't like during a sick spell. He told his mother it was nice but he just didn't care for any. The mother said that Mary would have let it be known in no uncertain terms that she would not eat it.

When teacher visited the home Dock (age 12) was not there. He came from neighbors where he was playing when he found out she was visiting. His mother called him to her side, put her arms around him and said, "Miss L, this is my baby. He helps me about the house. We all have to give in to the baby." Dock was a bit shy. He pulled away from his mother as if to say, "But I'm growing up now." The mother said she thought Dock was learning fast now that he had his books. When the teacher asked whether Dock ate heartily, she said

they couldn't get him to eat vegetables nor drink milk. "He's too skinny," she said. He is twenty pounds underweight. She agreed to let him bring milk from home to drink at school.

The mother of the twins, Mary and Mark, clearly had different expectations for these two children. She assumed that Mary would speak her mind, would assert herself, while she expected Mark to be an "apeaser." A rereading of this anecdote to get the general tone of the mother's comments will raise the question: How far were the behavioral differences between these two children due to basic differences in temperament and how far were they simply responses to the mother's images of the way they should act? Another possibility is that the mother may have favored Mark as an infant so that Mary had to act aggressively in order to command her fair share of attention. But no matter what the explanation of these differences may be, the mother's differential expectation of how each would act was a strong and persisting influence upon their behavior and it was important for the teacher to know of this as she worked with the children. The teacher's report of her call at Dock's home illustrates how a parent sometimes clings to an early image of a child and refuses to change the image to one more recent and realistic. It also suggests how one twelve-year-old boy reacted to being treated as though he were a baby.

Parental techniques for managing children

Most fathers and mothers have rather strong convictions about how children should be trained. Sometimes these convictions lead them to repeat with their children the training methods by which they themselves were reared. Sometimes they result in the choice of contrasting procedures. Whatever the origin of their convictions may be, parents habitually use certain specific techniques for getting their children to behave as the parents desire. Of course some of these techniques are effective and appropriate while others are not. The reports that follow show how teachers were able to learn about these techniques and thereby to attain a better understanding of why the children in question acted and felt as they did.

On a recent visit to the home, the mother and father had just gotten in from work. While talking about Leslie (age 11) the mother said that she thought that Leslie had improved in the last year or so in his behavior. She said, "You remember how he used to be." She was referring to the difficulty she had in keeping him in school and also to the fact that he took things that did not belong to him. One day three years ago she had come down to the school and asked me to go to Leslie's room to see if he had her gold watch. I asked her if she did not want to go herself, and she said that she did not. When I went to the room and called him outside, he acknowledged taking the watch and said that he had been letting a little girl wear it.

The mother in the presence of the father went on to say concerning Leslie, "He is not one bit afraid of his father. He just laughs when he tells him to do anything, but I tell you he 'gets' when I speak. I just say, 'You do it,' and he knows I mean what I say."

Teacher visited the home for the second time during the year. The father was away at work. The mother was very cordial. She inquired at length about Lehman's (age 12) work and conduct. She expressed appreciation for the interest being taken in her child. Lehman came in. She told him I was there to check up on him. I wasn't. She talked before the child about his being slow and brought out some of his faults. The teacher decided that everything said on that visit would be in praise of the child.

Was he being intimidated at home by having his faults rather than his virtues called to his attention? I fear the mother is nagging Lehman to do work beyond his ability.

Donald (age 10) tells me falsehoods and even though we knew or saw him do a thing he would deny it. By visiting his home I found his mother did a great deal of switching, and if he told her a story he would escape. I tried to make him feel that I was his friend and tried to build up his confidence in me. We laughed and joked together a great deal and I would often let him stay in the afternoon to help me and to run errands. Then he got to the place where he sometimes told me secrets and begged me not to tell his mother. His mother says he continues to lie to her at times, but I have had a long talk with her, and I hope she changes her way of dealing with Donald.

I visited the home and talked with the grandmother who was visiting in the home because of the mother's illness. The mother had gone to the doctor. The father was at work. The grandmother (maternal) said that Isaac (age 9) has "spells" and because of them his parents do not make him mind. The other children have to give

up to him. The mother can do nothing with him now. He fights her if she crosses him, and she isn't well enough to manage him without the father, so she never crosses him if she can help it. The only way the father can make him mind is to whip him and he seldom does that. The parents let him go places by himself. Sometimes he has a spell, falls into ditches, runs into things, almost gets run over by cars, breaks or loses whatever he has with him. He stays away for hours and they don't know where he is. If they don't let him go when and where he wants to go, he cries, screams, fights, etc., until they're afraid he'll have a spell so they let him go. He often goes off without permission.

These anecdotes reveal considerable variety in methods of home training and consequent differences in the relations between parents and children. Leslie's two parents were apparently each using very different techniques: he laughs when his father tells him to do anything, but he "gets" when his mother speaks to him. What happened to Leslie if he did not do what his mother wanted we do not know, but it is clear that her methods had not been completely successful in controlling all of his behavior. Lehman's teacher was quite disturbed by the lack of tact and understanding displayed by the mother on the occasion of her visit. She was able to learn, however, that "shaming" was one of the mother's devices for prodding Lehman. Later visits brought out the fact that this same technique was used over and over again with Lehman, who is a very slow learner. This information was essential to the teacher, who had to set herself the task of providing somehow the feeling of security that Lehman needed in order to make even a partial adjustment to school.

Donald's teacher found that his mother was using excessive physical punishment and that he told falsehoods to avoid it. This teacher then set about trying to make Donald understand that she accepted him as a person even though she could not accept all of his behavior. Further, she tried to communicate to the mother that there were other ways than "switching" for getting Donald to conform to acceptable conduct. In the case of Isaac the teacher found parents who were baffled and inadequate to deal with a child whose problems may have had a physio-

logical basis. Many of the other records presented in this chapter also give brief glimpses of how parents handle their children. For example, the notes quoted earlier about Hugh show his parents achieving their purpose of keeping him off the streets by praising his garden.

Personal relationships in the home

In any social unit such as the family the members are bound together by deep emotional ties. Each personality is a force that profoundly affects and is affected by all the others. Usually it requires considerable time and extensive information to understand the characteristic patterns of interaction among the members of a family and to appraise their significance. Nevertheless, teachers in the child-study groups have made progress toward understanding how these forces work, as may be gathered from the two excerpts that follow:

(Lula, age 6, will not talk at school.) Today I visited the mother to ask some questions which might enlighten the situation. . . . The mother said that Lula was carried under a great prenatal strain. Her (Mrs. H's) father had a long, lingering illness which caused him to be out of his mind at times, and she (Mrs. H) stayed there to help her mother with him. Lula was weaned at one year and was the easiest one of the children to wean. She said that Lula did not cry for things at home but talked them blue in the face when no outsiders were around. She walked at eleven months. She said that Callie, the sister, is embarrassed by the way Lula does around other people and fusses with Lula about it. She said the only one who babies Lula is her daddy. Mrs. H thinks Mr. H is partly the cause of Lula not talking. "I told her daddy that she got that not talking from him. He is so stubborn that you could ask him a million questions and he'd die before he'd answer you, 'less it just suited him.'" Mrs. H said that Lula bathes and dresses herself and does things very independently at home.

Mrs. G came to PTA and I showed her some of Harper's (age 7) work. She just sat right down and read every one and simply beamed at the way he had worked. She was selected for a grade mother. On the night of the Hallowe'en party she came to help at our booth complaining of being so tired. We were selling apples. Mrs. G helped some but very often she just left the booth to talk, laugh, and play with the children. Harper seemed to be having a grand time; so did

his mother. She forgot all about being tired. Harper was so proud of the fact that she was enjoying the party.

The teachers recorded very significant facts about the interpersonal feelings within these family groups. Lula's sister was "embarrassed" by the way she "does around other people." Her mother was annoyed with Lula and with her father because they would not talk unless it "just suited" them. Not talking at school may have been merely the repetition in Lula of an earlier pattern of adjustment to a situation with which Lula could not cope otherwise, a pattern acquired through emotional identification with the father as they formed a common front to resist the demands of the mother and sister. If so, this knowledge would give the teacher her cue to reassure Lula and to show her some affection while avoiding any mother role or authoritative demands that she talk. Harper's relationship with his mother offered a striking contrast. Both of them thoroughly enjoyed the party—so much so that the mother forgot both her tiredness and her job at the booth and was seen to "talk, laugh, and play with the children." Harper was proud that she enjoyed the party, while earlier she had "simply beamed" at the way he had worked. That the strong tie between them gave rich pleasure to these experiences together is obvious.

The family's way of life

Every family has its own way of life. Each regards certain customs, habits, and manners as important or desirable and requires all members of the family group to observe them as part of the daily routine. Usually these habits are the ways of their relatives and friends, of the social group of which they are a part. The teachers in the study groups found many contrasts in the patterns of living that characterized the homes of different boys and girls, as may be seen in two more records:

Grandmother came to school and brought one dollar on Billie Ruth's (age 8) fees. The following day I visited the home which I found untidy. The front porch was running over with relatives who were not neat. The mother was dead. The brother and Billie Ruth live with the grandmother and grandfather. Billie Ruth looks like

she comes from a better home and better "stock" than her relatives. She has dark circles under her eyes. The grandmother said Billie Ruth did not sleep much—sat up late. I noticed that the brother had some dark circles.

The home on the outside was much like the others along that street. But what a difference on the inside—Venetian blinds, a book-case filled with books, and magazines on the table. The mother was cool and trim looking in a white play suit and anklets. Gay (age 7) had on a matching one. The mother offered to make our curtains. When I told her another mother had promised, she said it might be easier for her (Gay's mother) because her machine was an electric one. I laughed and said, "My, your husband must have a gold mine—an electric machine and so many other things." She said she had sewed and bought the machine herself. A month later, Gay was quite thrilled over her mother bringing lunch for the entire class. Gay's mother told the children why airplane pilots eat carrots. They all enjoyed the lunch and the talk which Gay's mother had made.

Any teacher in an average American community would find similar contrasts in the ways of life among pupils' families. One family is marked by untidiness, little order or planning, and disregard for health standards. Another gives evidence of order, cleanliness, esthetic appreciation, and regard for the scientifical-ly supported standards of health. The latter way of life is the pattern to which most teachers themselves are accustomed, and which they value as the proper way of family living, so it is usually easier for a teacher to accept the parents and children that come from such homes. In contrast, it is easy to expect children from the first type of home to be "shiftless," "low," "dumb," or "lacking in ambition." In this way teachers' attitudes which were shaped by their own ways of life may intrude to color their judgments about some children. Obviously, it is highly desirable for teachers to adjust their demands and expectations concerning such matters as cleanliness, manners, and ambition to the readiness of the various children with whom they deal. It is necessary for them to be realistic about what new social behavior and attitudes a child can learn in a limited period of time, if they are to avoid frustration for themselves and hostility in the child. The sights must not be set too high. And

no matter how limiting a child's family background may be, it still is necessary to his best development that his teacher accept and esteem him as a worthwhile person.

The impact of family events

No home runs smoothly all the time; there are many happenings that affect the members of the family in one way or another. These may be major events, such as a death, a birth, a serious illness, or the loss of a job. Even more frequent are minor disturbances such as a brief quarrel, a visit of relatives, or a mild illness. Children are affected in varying degree by developments of this sort as they take place in the home, and their responses in turn influence the attitudes and behavior of parents and siblings toward them. A child's behavior in the classroom frequently changes as a result.

Before Maria's teacher made the first of the three visits reported below, she had become rather concerned over certain changes in the conduct of this nine-year-old girl. We continue from the record:

First visit: I went to visit Maria's mother this afternoon. Maria (an only child) was playing in front of the house. I asked her if her mother was at home and told her I would like to see her. She said her mother was at home but she knew she was asleep because she had told her to go out and play and stay away from the house while she took a nap. Maria did not go to see if she was asleep or not.

Second visit: This p.m. I went to see Maria's mother again. I had a nice visit with her. They have one-half of a house—an apartment. It is very attractively furnished. Everything is spotlessly clean. Mrs. K said that Maria was beginning to be a problem, that up until recently she hadn't been. "She is extremely jealous," she said, "but will probably outgrow it." She said she (Maria) was jealous of her (Mrs. K's) attention to the dogs they have. She still likes a lot of attention. Her mother says she does not pet her but that Maria still loves to sit on her father's lap. The baby is expected soon. I talked with the mother about the necessity for providing extra attention and affection for Maria. . . . The mother seemed to appreciate the help. Maria loves to read. Her mother says she reads nearly all the time when she is at home inside the house. Maria has never cared for babies or small children.

Third visit: I visited in the home this noon and saw the baby.

She was very sweet. Maria was proud of her and watched her carefully. Her mother says she is very fond of the baby.

This teacher understood that a new baby in the family can be a tremendous threat to the emotional security of some children. She knew that an only child, or a youngest one, is likely to picture himself as being displaced in his parents' affection, as being disregarded and pushed aside because of interest in the new arrival. As soon as she talked to the mother she realized why Maria was showing so much attention-getting behavior and jealousy, for Maria had been the only child for nine years. Fortunately the teacher's relationship to the mother was such that she was able to help the latter understand what was wrong and plan ways of reassuring Maria. The behavior changes at school also appeared in a new perspective and the teacher was in a better position to lend a hand there likewise.

Another example of how a teacher helped and was helped by working closely with the home is seen in the case of six-year-old Michael:

October 27: Mrs. F came down after school to see why Michael had to stay in. Said Zeke had told her Michael had to stay. Michael had said he would straighten out the lumber barrel after school. Mrs. F is a nice person. She said she was so glad Michael was helping. . . .

November 12: Doesn't seem like the same child. Came up to me three times today and tattled on others.

November 17: Loaned his pencil to Aaron, then took it back.

November 19: Tried to push Paul off bench in music room. Not happy like he was. Has worried expression instead.

November 24: Continues each day to be crossed up. Clashes with several children. When I talked to him and asked him if he felt all right, he said, "Yes, Miss D." He doesn't look like he does. . . .

December 1-10: Michael out of school. Children said he is very sick and has badly swollen jaw.

December 11: Michael back. Has abscessed tooth. Had one pulled and still has to have another removed. Michael looks terrible and has no life. Said he was glad to be back at school. . . .

December 13: Out again.

December 16: Wrote Mrs. F a note because she still hadn't brought Michael back. She came this morning and said the other side of Michael's face was swollen and he was in too much pain to come to

school. She said she was broken-hearted over the way Michael was doing. She said he did just what she told him not to do and fussed about everything. I told her I was sure he'd be the same fine boy when all his trouble with his teeth was over. I told her how manly he had been when Nathaniel made his foot bleed and how lately little things had upset him and he'd come running to tell me all during the day. I really believe he will be happy again when he is well. Mrs. F seemed to appreciate this advice.

In this case both Michael's teacher and his mother were disturbed over his changed behavior before either of them recognized the physical cause of his irritability. The teacher wrote that he "doesn't seem like the same child" and the mother said that she was "broken-hearted over the way Michael was doing." These two were playing vital roles in the boy's life and it was very important that they exchange information so freely during this episode and that the teacher was able to reassure the mother about Michael's actions.

Working with fathers

The records presented thus far have shown teachers making effective use of many different kinds of opportunity to establish friendly relations with their pupils' families. But some members of the study group had to do a bit of maneuvering in order to make helpful contacts with certain parents, particularly with some fathers who had been unresponsive or resistant to the more usual approaches. Patrick's teacher realized that indifference can sometimes be turned into cordial interest by giving a parent the chance to help the children and their teacher to solve a practical problem that may have been troubling them. An excerpt from her record follows:

April 22: Patrick thinks his daddy may help us build stage wings tomorrow. I wonder—he never comes to school. Is a very good carpenter, I think.

April 23: Patrick came saying, "I think Daddy is coming to help." Shortly afterwards he (the father) appeared. He worked for an hour and a half with two other fathers and seemed to enjoy it. He did the directing on the job. After lunch Pat came back and said, "Daddy said he had a good time at school helping us today." If I am not mistaken Mr. W has never been to the school before. He has

several children in school. I taught one for two years—a problem boy—during that time he never came. I feel that maybe we have a closer friend in him now.

Another teacher was able to penetrate a shell of apparently strong antagonism and to establish very helpful rapport with a father who came to the school building only because ration books were issued there. Most of the records cited so far were written very early in the child-study program but this concluding example was made after several years of participation. It shows that this teacher, like many others, had developed a good deal of skill in securing significant information about her pupils and in interpreting the school to their parents. The full record of the interview with the father of Lenora (age 9) is reproduced.

On the last day of the rationing Lenora's father came and was served by another clerk. I asked him if he'd like to see Lenora's room after he finished. He came back to the room after he got his ration books and he and I went into our room. We had a long and, to me, rather satisfactory talk, remembering that last year he told the PTA president that Lenora wasn't learning anything, that he didn't think anything of the school, and that she was not even doing all the pages in her arithmetic workbook—that she skipped all about.

We chatted along about the various things in the room. He was interested in the paints and how we mixed them to make other colors. He was also interested in some clay figures and the bright colors in the room. He said that schoolrooms were certainly prettier than when he went to school. That gave me a good lead into what we are trying to do in our present-day schools and how and why. We talked for some time about school in general, then we came around to Lenora. I told him how she was doing in school, both in her school work and her behavior. I found that her daddy thinks she is nervous and I agree—that is, she is to some extent. He told me how they helped her at home with spelling words and that she came home and said that she missed them. We discussed why she might copy her neighbor's spelling words—also her lack of understanding of sound—I have tried to help her with sound, but she still asks, "What letter does it start with?"

Her daddy said that he knew Lenora found it hard to learn and that she took after him. He said that the other three children were like their mother and smarter than Lenora. (Do they tell her this at home? If so, what effect does it have on her?) Her daddy said that Lenora's mother has had asthma ever since they married and

that she has also been very nervous all those years. He told of how she has cried in her sleep and waked him. When he woke her up she said she was dreaming. She also is nervous and uneasy when the children are out of sight. He told how she watched for the children when they lived on a street away from the school. She asked the first children who passed where hers were—then stayed on asking each little group until hers finally came. He says that if she hears a child scream she runs out on the porch, and that if the children are out and she hears an ambulance she makes her husband go and hunt the children. This was especially true of the son. It seems that the girls were always rather good to stay at home.

In talking of Lenora's nervousness, he said that her mother was very upset and nervous before she was born, and said, "I knew that and I tried to be extra good to her. My mother told me that I ought to!" He also said that after Lenora was born her mother was not able to be up for five or six weeks. Lenora is the youngest child.

He asked me if I thought that his wife's early home life could cause her to be nervous, and went on to say that her father often drank and came home and chased all of them out of the house. He wondered if that caused her to be more nervous or was it just the asthma?

He said that Lenora had a temper and always has had. He told of her hitting the other children and of her hitting at her mother when she was smaller. He said that she and the next girl (Mary) both liked to fight, and that he had a good many fights himself when he was younger—and single. He told of two fights he had, one of them in the factory soon after he began to work at eleven years of age. He went on to say that the conditions in the factory are so much better now than they used to be. I asked why he thought that was. He said, "Education." He told me how he talked to the two girls about not fighting, but that they still fought some. He bragged on how Mary could meet the public and told me how well she did selling uptown before Christmas.

I was interested in his saying that Lenora didn't seem to care to play with children. He said, "Why she'd lots rather go next door and sit and talk to Mrs. Z than to play." I said that I noticed she enjoyed the little girl that they keep overnight and he said, "Yes, she does but she would rather talk to Mrs. Z than play with her even."

This teacher would not have been able to make the most of her opportunity to talk to Lenora's father if she had harbored either hostile or defensive attitudes toward him as a result of

his earlier criticism of the school. We believe that her success in this interview was dependent upon the fact that she was sincerely interested in Lenora and already had achieved considerable understanding of the child. This sympathetic interest she must have communicated to the father very early in their talk; in so doing she established herself as his ally in their common concern for Lenora's welfare. Of course he was willing to talk freely under these circumstances, and the picture of him that the teacher carried after the interview was very different from the one left by his critical comments to the president of the parent-teacher association. He emerges from her notes not as an antagonist to the school's practice and educational objectives. Rather, he is delineated as a person deeply concerned about his children's welfare, pondering the problem of how the mother's anxieties affect the children, and wondering to what extent his own limitations and tendencies may have been inherited by his youngest daughter. He is revealed as a person who has watched his children develop, who often has been baffled, and who sometimes has needed help. It is no small accomplishment for a teacher to have developed the attitude and skill necessary to obtain such good understanding with a parent in the course of a single interview.

SUMMARY

In this chapter we have described some of the first steps taken by the teachers in the child-study groups toward understanding children in terms of their family situations. We have indicated the kinds of information that they thought important to put down and have shown how their records became more and more significant as they went along. Beginning with building up a foundation of friendly relations with parents on the basis of a common interest in the children, they were able to sense parents' preoccupations and anxieties and to see how these were affecting the youngsters. They sought to understand the expectations and demands to which fathers and mothers were holding their children and the techniques they employed in striving to get their sons and daughters to conform. They began to see that the personalities of the various family members were active

forces that molded each other and brought security through love, or anxiety and hostility through conflict. They tried to study objectively the different customs, habits, and manners that characterize various family and social groups. They sought to increase their sensitivity to the changes in children's classroom behavior which so frequently result from major and minor crises at home. Perhaps the most significant result of this phase of the child-study project was the degree to which parents and teachers learned to know and respect each other as persons and to see themselves as working for the same ends in dealing with boys and girls.

We noted that this fine progress was possible to the study groups because the school administration had strong convictions about the importance of friendly relationships between school and home and already had developed a community tradition for carrying out cooperative enterprises of many sorts. The administration's willingness to make any adjustments within its power to facilitate the work of the child-study groups gave further support to their work.

In later chapters we shall present additional material to show further progress made by these teachers in their understanding of the roles played by the family in the development of children. This material will picture them becoming more sure of their technique of getting and interpreting information, as they reconstruct the significant happenings in a youngster's life. It will illustrate the degree to which they became able to relate the child's own image of himself and his ways of dealing with the world to his earlier and current experiences at home as well as at school.

IV

Help from a Psychologist

ONE FAULT is very common among school administrators and supervisors as they lead groups of classroom teachers in programs of curriculum revision, evaluation, or child study. It is that of expecting these teachers to keep on working enthusiastically through a long period of time without a clearcut understanding of the significance of the tasks they are doing for their own professional goals. We observed this during our four years of consulting in the various school systems associated in the co-operative study; and unfortunately we did not entirely avoid the same pitfall in the study we are describing. The plan of work reported in the first nine chapters of this volume was developed gradually by collaboration between the local program leader, the consultant, other staff members from the Commission's division on child development, and the teachers in the child-study group. But even though the members of the study groups shared in most of the planning steps, we now feel that the ultimate significance of each of the activities in which they engaged was not analyzed sufficiently for many of them to grasp the full import of what they were doing. Of course this was a pioneer study and it may well be that none of us was able, during its first years, to push this analysis as far as was needful.

Whatever the causes may have been, we have to report that a good many members of the child-study group frankly became bored with writing anecdotes after the first few months. They also began to demand that some immediate use be made of these new records. In their discussion meetings, in conversation with each other, and in talking with the local program leader they asked: What do these anecdotes add up to? What do they show about the child I am studying? What is the significance of this

information I've got through my contacts with the parents? Suppose I do know all these facts about the child I'm studying—so what? What shall I *do* about him?

This questioning mood came before most of the teachers had attained adequate skill in writing descriptive anecdotes. Furthermore, it came when they had only just begun to redefine the purposes of their home visits and before they had learned which facts and happenings merited inclusion in the records because of their relevance to the children's development. In other words, this discontent appeared before these teachers had really grasped the implications of what they were doing. We now believe that this loss of morale might have been avoided, at least in part, if the participants could have understood why each activity was an essential element in a child-study program, and if they had been helped to analyze the full significance for their own professional goals of each of these activities.

SOME ESSENTIAL TASKS IN A CHILD-STUDY PROGRAM

Here and there it has seemed desirable to interrupt the inductive development of our picture of this program with a brief bit of analysis. We have done this in order to prevent the reader from being diverted by the interesting case materials from seeing what the teachers learned through each activity, and from identifying the essential tasks that any group will face if they undertake a similar study. Accordingly, we digress at this point to indicate four among the many tasks that this child-study group has met. Three of these tasks had to be accomplished by the classroom teachers in the group and the fourth was the responsibility of the consultant and of the local leaders. These tasks are mentioned at this point because it was largely through the activities to be described in this chapter that the persons in the study groups came to see their significance not only for the child-study program but also for their own professional development.

The first task was to learn that significant facts about a particular child are signposts which point to the specific scientific principles that will explain his motivation and behavior. These

teachers had never been taught that a valid diagnosis of why a child behaves as he does depends upon being able to select the principles that explain his behavior from among a vast array of scientific knowledge about human development. Nor had they learned that this selection can be made only on the basis of a considerable body of specific information about the child in question—because each child is different from every other one in numerous aspects.

Lacking the understanding that the data were essential as signposts, it is not surprising that many teachers became bored with anecdote writing and lost some of their interest in gathering further information about the children they were studying. They obviously needed the concrete experience of seeing that the isolated facts they were gathering really could serve as pointers to explanatory principles. They had to be shown that, when they were able to supply enough to describe what was happening in each of the important aspects of a child's life, a whole group of explanatory principles could be located which together would afford a basic understanding of the child in question.

A second task that faced the group was that of learning to regard their initial conclusions about a child as only tentative hypotheses. The members of the group had to learn that a given body of facts might or might not point to enough scientific principles to permit a valid explanation of a child's behavior. They had to learn to check their initial hypotheses by further observation and against additional information. Especially did they need to see that while the facts they already had gathered usually were sufficient to point to tentative explanations of children's actions, these in turn pointed to the need for still other vital, but heretofore undiscovered, information about the children they were studying. Only by actually feeling that all hypotheses were tentative and that new data might call for the use of additional explanatory principles could these teachers maintain their interest in the continuous gathering of facts about the children they were studying.

A third task that confronted the teachers in the child-study group was that of gaining enough knowledge of scientific prin-

ciples to interpret the anecdotes they were writing. Most of them needed to add a great deal to their initial store of knowledge about human development, motivation, behavior, and learning but were somewhat resistant to the idea of doing so. They felt that they had all of the theoretical knowledge they wanted. So it was necessary to give them convincing experiences of the fact that signposts—data about individual children—are meaningful only to persons who know the principles that are pointed to. And it was necessary to persuade them that, when they had learned these principles they, too, would be able to interpret the data they were gathering.

The fourth task was primarily the responsibility of the consultants and local leaders. It was the task of reassuring the members of the child-study groups. The study had begun with experiences which demonstrated to these teachers that their cumulative records had little validity or value. Members of the group also had been convicted of being too ready to judge children's behavior and of showing bias by using their own purposes, cultural standards, and personal preferences as the criteria for making these judgments. While the teachers had not been blamed for exhibiting this common folk tendency toward biased appraisal of other people's actions, they nevertheless recognized it as unworthy of a truly professional person and felt somewhat defensive about it. Anecdotal records, based on their own observations and information secured through friendly contacts with parents, had been recommended to them as sources of data likely to yield more valid conclusions about the children they were studying. So it was only natural that members of the study groups should be impatient to get at the meaning behind the facts they were gathering, that they should be anxious to know whether or not they now had the information needed for sound interpretation of their pupils' conduct. They were not really so much bored with anecdote writing as they were uncertain and a little disturbed about the adequacy and significance of their new activities. They needed to be shown that what they were doing actually did produce records that contained essential information; they needed to feel that their work was praiseworthy.

and was getting them somewhere. Only the consultants and local leaders could act to reduce the anxiety in this regard felt by some members of the group.

THE PLAN OF WORK

Discussion of the situation with the psychologist who was serving as consultant to the group produced an effective plan for dealing with the problem just described, and it was followed during most of the next two years. In essence it consisted of using the teachers' own anecdotal records as the starting point for all necessary learning. A few individuals periodically sent several months' accumulation of their anecdotes to the consultant by mail. He, in turn, organized and interpreted these records on the basis of his own scientific background and commented in writing on the significance of various facts and episodes. In these written evaluations he usually offered one or more hypotheses to account for the behavior that had been noted, and cautioned the teacher to check these by further observance and analysis. He then made suggestions about what additional facts were needed and sometimes recommended policies that could be followed in trying to help the child in question. The consultant's comments were always studied carefully by the teachers and usually served to reassure them because they demonstrated the usefulness of the material for drawing tentative conclusions about children and for indicating next steps that would lead to further insight.

Although the psychologist's criticisms and suggestions were addressed to the particular individuals who had submitted material to him, their value was not limited to the persons concerned. These teachers read their anecdotes, together with the consultant's comments, to the whole study group and a general discussion of both the data and the psychologist's reaction followed. Thus all members of the study group had the benefit of the consultant's analysis of a considerable number of cases during the first two years of the program.

Four sets of case material of the sort described will be reproduced, unedited, in this chapter. We have not abstracted or

abridged either the teachers' records about the children or the psychologist's interpretations and suggestions. This is because we want the reader to see exactly what each individual knew and thought about the child she was studying and how the psychologist varied his response in terms of the next step he felt each was ready to take. His comments should be read with the idea of gauging their impact on the mind and feelings of the particular teacher. It is especially important to notice how he helped them to organize their materials so that they pointed to scientific principles, how he reiterated the desirability of regarding all interpretations as tentative, how he demonstrated the use of generalizations in forming hypotheses, and how he reassured the teachers as to the value of their data and praised their growing power to select significant information. In reading the teachers' material it should also be remembered that they were written early in the study.

THE CASE OF CHRISTOPHER

The classroom teacher studying this child preceded her anecdotal record with the following general description: "Christopher is ten years old and in the fourth grade. He is a very clean and neat looking boy. He seems quiet most of the time in the classroom and very seldom enters into discussions. He talks very little yet is quite active in committee work. His time on the playground seems to be fun for him as shown when he enters into games. Is Christopher a passive-type child? What is he thinking? What could I do to help him feel free with his speech in the classroom? Christopher's home environment is above the average in cleanliness. His mother is young, pleasant to talk with, and willing to cooperate. She has attended the PTA meetings occasionally."

Anecdotal record

October 24: Christopher broke one of our class agreements today when he failed to clean up his materials after painting. He, without the help of anyone, saw this and said that he was anxious to do his part and clean up things. Does this not show that he is willing to

talk? I am wondering how I may help Christopher to grow in freedom of conversation. Is he really a passive child? Is he timid? I have often noticed that he becomes excited if asked a question—even blushes.

October 28: Christopher did not bring his material to school today. He agreed to bring some old boards to help build a museum in the corner of our room. When he came to school he began work using material belonging to someone else. When I talked with him he told me that he had helped Armstrong (another member of the museum committee) get his boards. After talking it over with the committee Christopher agreed that he had not done his part and said that he had not helped Armstrong. Why did he misrepresent things? Was he anxious to work even though he had forgotten his boards—so much so that he didn't quite tell the truth? Was he confused? I wonder if he doesn't get excited. Why is this?

October 31: Christopher talked freely today during a discussion about the homes of people in early America. Why did he all of a sudden express himself so? During the rest of the day he was very quiet. Is Christopher really a passive-type child? He expresses himself in drawings, in writing in a very weak fashion. This is true of his behavior on the playground. If he is making an attempt to talk in class isn't that proof that he may be just timid along some lines and that he needs many chances to overcome this?

November 4: I am planning to talk again with Christopher's mother. Before I do this I am going to have a long talk with Christopher about some things I believe he is interested in. It will take time, but I believe Christopher will grow in freedom of speech if given every opportunity to express himself and gain confidence. Isn't he just of a timid nature? Is he really a passive child? Today Christopher wrote a story about having fun playing marbles. He enjoys playing marbles. He enjoys playing in the afternoons when school is over, and it seems that most of the time he is playing with children on his street. Christopher told me that once he was very worried because he stayed away from home until dark. He knew that his folks would not like this. He said his conscience hurt him because he knew he should have been at home earlier. Christopher was absent yesterday. He told me today that he thought about not being in school—about his spelling words. (Christopher finds the learning of spelling words rather difficult.)

Reaction of the consultant

1. Why are you so worried? Your record on Chris is very clearly centered around one main theme; you express it most frequently in

the following form: Is Chris really a passive child? Isn't he just a timid nature? In a way it is an advantage that a sort of central theme is in your mind. However, let's be sure that we don't forget to look at the whole boy and note whatever we discover in him. If we only look for corroborations or contradictions to the main two questions, we might easily miss the one or more other important traits in the child. Let us have a look at him, then.

2. What do we know about Chris? The main items you tell us about him are these: He is ten, clean and neat looking, quiet, seldom enters discussion, active in committee work though he talks very little. Has fun on playground. He expresses himself in drawing and writing in a very weak fashion. Besides these traits, you tell us about three incidents: the cleaning-up incident, the old-boards incident, the early-American-discussion incident. Then we know about the mother that her home is above average in cleanliness, that she is young, pleasant to talk to, and is willing to cooperate, also attends PTA meetings occasionally.

3. What is our next move? You already suggested yourself that you would follow up Chris' case by talks with him and his mother. The most immediate suggestions we have in mind would be these:

a. Don't worry because you can't decide yet whether Chris is "really a passive child." This is not your fault. You seem to ask this question after each new observation you make on the child, and then worry because you still haven't any answer. We can easily put you at ease on that point: the question is one which *cannot* be decided so easily. After we have made a complete study of the child, then maybe we shall know an answer to it. It cannot be answered on the basis of one or another observation.

Besides, why not forget about the whole question for a while? It is more important for us to get a concrete picture of what Chris is like in *every* respect. After we know what he is like, then we may raise that question again, whether we would classify such a child as "passive" or not. Maybe then this question wouldn't seem so important anyway. So our first suggestion is this: don't look at everything Chris does with the doubt in your mind whether it means he is "passive" or not. Try to record what you see without that worry.

b. A few things are obvious from your description. Chris does show tendencies to be scared and timid. Our next worry, therefore, is to find out the exact extent of his fears and to see a little more what they are like. Try to see all of them, not only those which are directly connected with his "passivity."

It will take quite some searching and much more detailed knowledge of his fantasies before we learn just how deep seated this "timidity" is. What does he "express" in his drawings? What is the type of story he would write about? What can you observe in watching his behavior?

c. The three incidents you mention are well put. Yet, it isn't your fault if we don't know what to make of them yet. I guess, with further and more detailed knowledge on Chris, they will become clear sooner or later. It surely is worth while to watch out for similar occurrences, especially incidents where he does get "excited and confused." How about trying to get him to explain why he thinks he does that? Maybe he can give us a lead or two.

d. You are right. It will take time and the best thing for Chris is to give him chances to talk and express himself. But let us be sure we mean the word "chances" seriously. We should not try to urge and force him into "expressing himself," when maybe he doesn't have anything to express, or when he is still scared to do so. You mention the main item yourself; whatever we can do to give him confidence in the situation will be our safest approach.

e. You are right in this remark too, "If he is making an attempt to talk in class, isn't that proof that he may be just timid along some lines?" We think that is so. But all the more is that a reason for us to try to trace "those lines" more correctly and more in detail. For one thing is clear: if he is not a "passive" child or "timid nature," even if he has just one timidity or two, then we want to be sure those don't spread more than we can help.

Therefore continue along the line you have started. Avoid, however, making the mother or the child too self-conscious about Chris' possible anxieties. The understanding of what his various traits really mean for the evaluation of the whole child will come to us automatically if we just continue along the line of observation and study we have already entered upon.

This case was included in order to show the consultant's proper role in reassuring some teachers and in "leading them by the hand" until they gained confidence in their own ability to carry on this new venture. This leading by the hand was important because some teachers were themselves timid. When they were baffled by the behavior they saw, they did not enjoy getting up

in the meeting and saying, "I just can't figure out why Christopher acts as he does." They naturally were anxious lest someone blame them, lest someone should feel that they lacked the competence they should have. Other teachers perhaps had given the impression during previous reports to the group that they understood their study cases very well indeed. If so, the more cautious individuals who recognized their own bewilderment and limited perspective would be constantly questioning their own ability. This also would be true of teachers who felt that their principals and supervisors might not have full confidence in their classroom effectiveness. We do not know why Christopher's teacher felt so unsure of herself, but the material quoted does show how the consultant tried to reassure her while he guided her observation and thought into new directions.

THE CASE OF ISABELLE

This teacher likewise began with a general description: "Isabelle is thirteen years old and in the eighth grade. She is sixty-two inches tall and weighs 125 pounds. Fifteen of these pounds she has gained between May and September. Both her mother and father are living and she has one brother in high school. The home surroundings are excellent, very neat and clean. The mother works most of the time and Isabelle and her brother share home responsibilities. The parents, especially the mother, are interested in church and community life. Isabelle has always attended the same school. She also attends church, Sunday school, and young people's church meeting. The grandmother, uncle, aunt, and mother have all told me that Isabelle is a strange girl and they hope I'll get it out of her! Mother has asked me twice if I think she is too dull to learn. Have not been able to find out if they talk before Isabelle the same way. To me the father seems rather retiring, but very interested in the children."

Anecdotal record

September, first week: Apparently no interest shown when making plans for classroom curtains; finally hemmed half of a curtain but

because I insisted. Did splendid work during her housekeeping week—remained after school to arrange books on library shelves, watered flowers, swept the yard, washed the sink, etc.; answered my questions but did not voluntarily say a word.

September, second week: Read three days during work period; said she did not like work periods; when urged to help she finally measured and weighed class members and is working on large graph for classroom. It was a pupil who urged her to do this. Inactive during play period; went to playground equipment several days but did not seesaw or do as other girls; just stood around. Said she hoped no one would come when it was her day to be hostess; asked to serve as a basement monitor.

September, third week: Asked for help when finding area of school lot, block, etc. Not sure of herself at any time but especially during discussion period or when working with figures. While obtaining heights of class members she fastened tape measure on post with one inch at top; did not understand at all when a pupil told her to have the sixty-inches end at top as only a few pupils would measure beyond that. When class members and teacher laughed about an amusing incident, Isabelle only smiled. Never seems to talk with other class members; noticed her sitting absolutely alone at church.

October, first week: Seemed interested when we were planning to go to the football game and flower show. Did not join in yells and appeared rather uninterested when looking at the flowers. Went to the library but did not look for pictures as other pupils did. When the group gathered to get on the trolley, she told me she had a good time—the only one who did so. Asked three times if written work she had voluntarily done was all right for her folder; seems willing to do all work and even extra work but wants explicit directions from me.

October, second week: Brought flowers for classroom. Seems to enjoy reading in science books but when I ask a casual question about something I feel she must have read, she usually says, "I don't know," or does not say anything. Within the month I have not heard her make a voluntary statement except the one mentioned above (told me she had a good time). At the present time, end of first school month, October 7, I feel that Isabelle is over-quiet, easily discouraged, depressed, lacks self-confidence, is secretive, unsociable, has shown no evidence of initiative. When she comes in the morning she will say, "Good morning," rather hesitantly; sits down immediately and looks as if it is an effort for her to move.

Remained after school and asked for help with some examples. I tried to question her very "slyly" whether her mother told her to do so but could gather no information. Continues to find anything involving figures, measuring, etc., very difficult and shows clearly that she is worried about the situation. Hesitated when asked to go to the office for crayon but finally went. When other pupils are moving about in the room and going to convenient places to read, etc., she sits all of the time in the same place. Once I overheard her asking another girl to bring her a certain book from the bookcase. I really think often that she is *lazy*.

October, third week: Was seen sitting alone at church again. Instead of being with members of the seventh and eighth groups, the night an amateur program was given, she was with third- and fourth-grade children. The age levels were almost entirely separate both before and after the program. Before other pupils came into the room, Isabelle voluntarily told me that her ill aunt was some better; she also asked to take the copies of *Current Science* to the other eighth-grade room. At times I am slightly hopeful and almost immediately she is so withdrawing that I feel helpless.

When reports were given out I noticed Isabelle and her face and neck were crimson; she looked as if she was frightened; did not read anything on the report while in the room as far as I could see. Stayed with her mother during a great part of the time at the community fair; continues to sit by herself at church; took part in games at a church party for about ten minutes. Sat around and talked to no one the rest of the time.

October, fourth week: Visited Isabelle when she was absent because of an influenza attack. Mother was home. She talked continually in the presence of Isabelle about her lack of confidence in her ability, her timidity, and indifference toward girls and boys her age. Mother also said she did not want Isabelle to be "grown up" and have dates as some of the girls in her section were. However, she knew it was not right for Isabelle to be with her practically all of the time. She also said that she (Isabelle) worried the family trying to study. Even though she likes school she is always fearful about passing.

At the close of the second school month I feel that Isabelle is even more of a puzzle than during the first month. She never does anything unless she is told to—arranged a very nice exhibit of articles used by various groups in making tooth powder and cosmetics for a permanent exhibit, but I suggested it and she must have asked a dozen or more times how to do it! She is coming to school quite early, has been with me a number of mornings for ten minutes before other pupils came, but she never says a word.

Seemed quite interested in a science exhibit made by a group. I overheard her asking one of the boys to spell a word, which was one of the nutrients used. Wrote a letter to the school gardener thanking him for advising us about work to do when beautifying our yard. It was a very good letter and an extra article for her folder. (Each pupil keeps a folder for listing plans, records, synopses of reports given by other groups, etc.) Mother explained that Isabelle had to come with her to the PTA meeting because there was not anyone at home and she could not be alone.

Reaction of the consultant

1. A few remarks about Isabelle. Your description gave a very clear picture of the girl. Most of the traits you mention are more or less in line with each other. Though of course we are not able to explain all of them sufficiently yet, the impression that your picture is well drawn and close to reality is very strong. Trying to mention the most outstanding traits of this girl would mean repeating what you have said. Maybe we could group them, however, in the three main areas in which they obviously fall:

- a. Some of the things you tell about Isabelle clearly express her hesitancy about verbalizing knowledge she has, or even of showing a curiosity and interest which seem to be there. This trait is clearly borne out by your description of the way she reacts when asked questions—even when she seems to know—and by the way she looks as though she weren't interested or happy, even though subsequent observations suggest that she must have been. In fact, I would not be surprised if one of the difficulties of this girl wasn't to *express and admit* interest, rather than not having any.
- b. Another group of attitudes clearly marks her hesitancy in her contact with the rest of the group—or any group, for that matter (sits alone at church, in parties of her age group, and so on). Yet, you describe it in a way which would not suggest that there is any "open" outspoken thing for her to be afraid of—razzing by others, or anything of the sort. It is the quiet sort of withdrawal rather than the dramatic avoidance.
- c. A third hesitancy in the child comes out clearly in her attitude to you. There is little doubt from the picture you gave us that she likes you and enjoys being with you and near you. And yet, even that has to happen in a very quiet, unobtrusive way, by just factual presence, preferably unnoticed, rather than loud or verbally underlined companionship.

The question is, what is the common denominator of her attitudes and where do they come from? The first question seems to

suggest the answer: *fear*. We do not exactly know what she is afraid of, but the fact that she is afraid and insecure all the time is very important and apparent. She shows more than the usual anxieties or insecurities of young girls. She is even afraid of being what she is, knowing what she does, asking what she would like to know, and trusting her own ears after you have told her things twice. There would seem to be insecurities and anxieties no end.

It is important to realize that all of them come up in a quiet way, undramatic. Many other children when afraid would be so much more open and outspoken. She is even afraid of being too outspokenly afraid! As to the root of her difficulty, we need much more and further observation to make reliable guesses. Maybe there are various sources. At the moment only one of them is obvious. This does not imply that it is the only one. But it is one of them all right. Namely, her mother—or better, the way her mother behaves. You have sensed that right off the bat. In your introductory comments you already report: "Mother asked me whether I think she is dumb. Have not been able to find out whether they talked before Isabelle in that way." A few paragraphs later you have found out, and the picture is exactly as you expected. I would describe it by the following remarks:

Isabelle was *commanded* to be a very good, passive, obedient child all her life. Now suddenly her parents think of her in terms of an adolescent more than just a child. So just being good and obedient doesn't satisfy them any longer. They also want her to have those traits of self-reliance, unconcerned self-expression, active aggressiveness which adolescents normally show. That means they want her to show the "secondary characteristics" of adolescence, and of those only the better half of the set. However, they have not changed so basically as it seems; they still want Isabelle to remain fundamentally good and obedient. She had to be good upon command before but she is supposed to be self-insistent and aggressive upon command now. But she is supposed to remain the good child at the same time and she has no chance of really growing up.

What they want is the little girl who obeys their new idea by producing "adolescent behavior, set one"—the desirable half. What they get is a girl who can't be quite happy being the little child, but certainly doesn't dare to become a real adolescent with all that goes with it. So she is just a scared child—scared of growing up, that is, and of everything and everybody that reminds her of the symptoms of really growing up. Therefore by the way, she rather mixes with the younger children than with her own age group, whenever she does mix. Since she has got to deny *real* growth in herself, obedient to parental demand, she has to become even more with-

drawn and quiet and afraid of any expression of even normal and desirable wishes and curiosities. She has to emphasize her being like a good little child so much because she is afraid of the inner changes she feels coming along and notices in others.

Isabelle at the moment shows the behavior of a child who is scared of growing into adolescence because that would spell conflict with her repressive parents. Isabelle at the moment shows much fear, which is not so much fear of anything special outside her but fear of being anything but a good and passive little girl. Isabelle, therefore, lives under a tremendous strain.

2. Educational handling and child-study approach. Your description of the state of mind in which Isabelle is has been so concrete that hardly much could be added. You also have already indicated one of the main sources of the trouble—the contradictory philosophy of the parents who want the good little girl with the adolescent aggressiveness, a thing that doesn't exist. The next things we should like to see would be these:

- a. A little more detail about the mother and the father, and the brother. And the way the brother solved—or did he?—his adolescent-parent problem.
- b. More details of conditions under which Isabelle can be relatively free from fear, maybe of fantasies and daydreams she has, if she dares have any, and maybe of any one point of open conflict or contradiction between her and her parents, if there are such points.
- c. A picture of whatever relationships to any other youngster does or did exist, or of what anxieties she professes at the insinuation of trying a friendship with an age pal.

3. In our educational handling, the following items will become important eventually:

- a. How could we best help the parents, especially the mother, to see she demands things which are incompatible, that she should accept the fact that Isabelle will have to become a little less of the good girl if they want her to become a normal adolescent? Any information that might help us to find the answer to that question is of extreme importance.
- b. In Isabelle, encourage all manifestations of emotion, interest, action; don't exploit her tendencies to be a good girl too much. Don't criticize her for her anxieties, either. Avoid using her own insecurity as a new source of additional insecurities. Encourage any sign of looser and more adolescent, even though less desirable, behavior as much as you can. She will have to loosen up before she snaps into normal.
- c. Try to talk with the girl and locate any conscious and verbal-

ized worries she may have. Use those as a starting point and encourage her to express whatever is going on in her, and try to find a friend for her who would continue such a role for the child.

Of course all this is easy to say. It is only a line in which to react, not a definite suggestion of how to do it. Such a suggestion couldn't be given from mid-air. You have to figure that out for yourself. One more hint: all this is a long process. It is not important that Isabelle become a noisy adolescent by the first of March. It is only important that she gradually dare to obey the voice of her own growth whenever that becomes more intensive, while now she is scared of that very voice. To help her in that is important—more important than that she continue to do satisfactory school work. Otherwise she might become queer. At the moment she isn't. But if we can't get her adolescence freed from some of the parental load that weighs upon it, her compulsive traits might become dominant.

How far you can influence the parents cannot be judged from the present study as yet. But one thing you might try right away. Even though you may not be able to make them so much more understanding toward what adolescence means, try and make them a little more tactful in their attitude to the child. As things are now, they even seem to talk that child into being shy and dumb. *Not* being shy and dumb would really mean, for Isabelle, indirectly to contradict the judgment of her parents. I know of cases where this one motive was so strong in children that they really became what the parents thought they were talking them out of. Make them see what they are doing! They *think* they talk Isabelle out of being shy and dumb. But by talking so much about it they really talk her into it. They must stop fearing Isabelle is queer and dumb before Isabelle can stop fearing so herself.

After studying this criticism and interpretation, Isabelle's teacher wrote the following note to the psychologist:

Your remarks and suggestions about Isabelle have already proved helpful. It is encouraging to know that you feel as I do about her mother's lack of tactfulness in her attitude toward Isabelle. I believe that your suggestion that I obtain a picture of Isabelle's relationships to others of the group, in so far as anxieties are concerned, has helped me to get a clue which I am now following very closely and shall include in my diary.

Although I taught Isabelle's only brother in the eighth grade I had never thought of trying to recall some of his habits and "man-

nerisms" until you mentioned it. He was not a very apt pupil the first of the year but improved quite a lot. However, he would talk much more than Isabelle and was well liked by everyone. His mother did not want him to play football but his father let him play this school year if he would pass all school requirements. I recall his father asking me one Sunday in September if I thought letting him play would encourage him to study harder. I said, "Yes," most emphatically as I recalled at once that I almost considered Barkley a "sissy" in the eighth grade. He is now having dates and seems to be quite popular with the girls as he is handsome and a good sport. I gathered the above information from a group of girls going to a football game last fall.

I shall continue talking with Isabelle to see if I can locate any worries she may have. To know how to help Isabelle's mother is my biggest problem now. I have been reading some and it seems as if a visiting teacher tells the parents everything. I do not think that I know how to do that but shall try it rather mildly and see what happens.

The consultant felt that he could go much further in interpreting Isabelle than he had in the case of Christopher. Her teacher had remained puzzled and disturbed because she did not understand the meaning of her records, but she had built up a very clear picture of the difficulties this girl was experiencing in connection with growing up. Although this anecdotal material was made up largely of generalized description, it included so much information about the child in the home, in church, and outside the classroom that it gave the psychologist data enough for a broad hypothesis to account for Isabelle's behavior. He wrote down his tentative conclusions and sent them to the teacher in order to help her understand what she had seen and recorded, and he even went on to suggest next steps that might be taken in studying and dealing with Isabelle. The teacher's letter to him indicated how correctly the consultant had gauged the causes of her puzzlement and the means by which she could be helped.

This letter also showed that the teacher did an "about face" toward Isabelle after she grasped the psychologist's explanation of the girl's behavior. At the end of the second month of record keeping this teacher had confessed that Isabelle was "even more

of a puzzle than during the first month." In her anecdotes she had described the girl as depressed, lacking in self-confidence, seclusive, and "so withdrawing that I feel helpless." But the psychologist's interpretation of her material relieved this discouragement by giving her the feeling that she now was beginning to understand Isabelle; she was thereby released to act on the girl's behalf. No longer feeling confused and helpless, she wrote that she would study Isabelle's interaction with other children and talk further with her in a way that might locate the child's worries. Already she had marshalled some information about the brother and was looking into the ways he solved his adolescent developmental tasks in the hope of finding helpful leads for Isabelle. Finally, she even planned to approach the mother but with a carefulness based on sound recognition of her own limitations. Apparently it had been a telling experience for this teacher to see that the facts which had left her "puzzled" were enough—when used as pointers to psychological generalizations—to permit the building of a very plausible hypothesis about why the girl behaved as she did.

But it is one thing to set about gathering further information to test a psychologist's hypothesis and another thing to develop enough skill to build up such tentative explanations for oneself. It is one thing for a teacher to plan ways of helping a child along lines suggested by a consultant and quite another to develop enough confidence in her own hypotheses to use them as the bases for figuring out ways of helping other children. Isabelle's teacher still had a long way to go before she could develop her own working explanations of why various children acted as they did and before she would have the confidence to make plans on the basis of these hypotheses. Nevertheless, every day that she entered the classroom this teacher faced at least four or five other adolescents who also were in grievous need of being understood and given helpful guidance—and tens of thousands of other American teachers are facing hundreds of thousands of teen-age boys and girls who are equally in need of competent study and help.

Who is to gather the facts, diagnose the adjustment problems

and developmental tasks of these young people, and be responsible for maintaining the wholesome conditions, influencing the personal relationships, and guiding the experiences by which these currently unadjusted adolescents can be assisted in becoming healthy, happy, useful adults? Certainly these tasks are too extensive to be accomplished by such clinical services as the schools are able to provide. The latter offer effective help to a limited number of already severely maladjusted children. But the more comprehensive task of providing practical mental hygiene that will prevent the unadjusted from becoming maladjusted and that will help most children to live happier, more useful lives, is the joint obligation of parents, classroom teachers, and school counsellors. Isabelle's teacher is a worthy example of the latter group. The bafflement that she experienced once she began to study Isabelle's behavior would be experienced by nine teachers out of ten who might try to understand a child with similar problems. It still requires a long-term, well planned program of direct child study to bring these people to the point where they can build and use scientifically valid hypotheses about how to help normal children solve their adjustment problems and accomplish their developmental tasks. A careful reading of the studies reported in this volume will supply convincing evidence of the magnitude of this need for professional education in service. Consider, for example, the problems that Juanita's teacher had to face.

THE CASE OF JUANITA

According to the usual general description: "Juanita is twelve years old and in the fifth grade. She is a very apt pupil, leading the class. Writes well and is a splendid reader. Enjoys reading to others. The class like to hear her read and that is the only thing she does that they do like. No one likes her. She has no playmates at school or in her neighborhood. Is quarrelsome and actually fights with both boys and girls. Her father operates a dairy truck and Juanita says that he sometimes makes \$500 a day, but from the appearance of the home they have very little money. There are eight children, three boys and five

girls. Three of the girls are married. One of them quit school when she was in the fourth grade and married at the age of fifteen. Has been married two years. Juanita told the class her sister had a new baby and invited the teacher to come and see it. When the teacher went she found out the baby was not a member of Juanita's family at all. Lived on the same street but about a block away. Not even related to the family."

Anecdotal record

January 24: Juanita had a fight at recess with a boy much smaller than she. Missed all of her arithmetic problems just to get help. Talked all during chorus period.

January 27: Brought material for quilt. Sewed just about eight stitches. Threw it down. Said she couldn't sew. Class chose characters for play. Juanita volunteered for every part and although she would have done any one of them well, the children chose someone else. Teacher finally suggested Juanita for one part. She was pleased.

January 28: Quarreled all day with the boys at her table.

January 29: Had a fight on the way home with a little girl. She has been fighting all year.

January 30: Played football with the boys. She fell down, blamed the boys, and "cussed them out." Went in the schoolhouse before recess was over and threw out of the window everything belonging to one of the boys that she had fussed with. When she was sent for the things she went after them but instead of giving them to the owner, gave them to another boy.

January 31: Brought some more quilt material and actually pieced one square. Missed every word in her spelling. In two minutes after the papers were checked she said in her sweetest voice, "Miss L, will you please see if I know my spelling?" She knew it perfectly. Often she pretends not to know a thing that she does know.

February 3: Came to school looking tired and sleepy. Said she went to the late show by herself.

February 4: Played football again with the boys after being told not to. Got mad. Knocked one of the boys a "round" or two. The boy said he wouldn't hit a girl. Juanita used very ugly language. Stayed out of school that afternoon. Said her back hurt where the boys hit her.

February 5: Fussed with girls about place at table. Asked teacher questions all day that she knew the answers to. Chewed the edges of a library book. When a little girl suggested that they walk

through the halls quietly, Juanita hit her and said she wouldn't have anyone "bossing" her. She again wrote her spelling words wrong.

February 6: Fussed with the nicest girls in the class. Read a story to the class and seemed happy in doing it.

February 7: Inattentive during chorus. Talked in an undertone all the time. Stamped down the steps. Left the room six times when she thought the teacher wasn't looking. Fought with the boys at recess. Privilege of going out to play with others taken from her for a week. She seems to enjoy being with the teacher alone.

February 10: In a very good humor today (for Juanita). Went on the truck over the weekend. Likes to take trips in her father's dairy truck. Stayed after school just hanging around talking to the teacher. Had something nice to say about many of the girls in her class. Said Ellen had pretty finger nails. Ethelene was always happy. Hazel could sing good. Lanny was always polite. Teacher suggested she say some of those nice things to the girls. She said they were all so "funny" when she talked to them. Was very happy when teacher asked her to help with the minuet. She likes attention. Seems to be starved for love and attention. Mother didn't give her much attention when she was small.

February 11: Surprised everybody when she brought the money for Betty Mae's ticket to see the junior-program number. Betty is the little girl she has been fighting with all year. Betty Mae was very anxious to hear and see the show. Was working hard to try to earn the money. The entire class praised Juanita for being so kind. When the principal came in the room they told her. Juanita beamed with delight. She has been polite, helpful, and did her work well all day. Not one fuss or fight. I wonder what she will do tomorrow.

February 12: Juanita came in late. Burst open the door and shouted, "Here I come, like a tornado!" and she was a tornado all day. A regular whirlwind. Couldn't keep up with her. She went from table to table fussing with everybody. Nothing suited her until the period for rhythms. She put on her colonial costume to dance the minuet and seemed happy in doing so. As she was leaving the room she put both hands on the cheeks of a fourth-grade boy, much smaller than she, and lovingly patted each cheek and was just leaning over to kiss him when teacher interfered.

Guess Who test: Restless 2, unhappy 7, not well liked 10, bossy 3, does not work well with others 5, not dependable 6. Juanita is in a combination fourth and fifth grade. There are only fifteen in the fifth grade and this is what just the fifth grade thought of her.

Reaction of the consultant

1. Organization of material

- a. Identifying data: Juanita, age 12, grade 5, Wilson School.
- b. What do we know about the family and Juanita's attitude to them?

Family constellation: Brother age ? Sister age ?
 Brother age ? Sister age ?
 Brother age ? Sister age ?
 Sister age ? Juanita age 12

The parents: (1) Her father operates a dairy truck and Juanita says that he sometimes makes \$500 a day but from the appearance of the home they have very little money. (2) In a very good humor today (for Juanita). Went on trip over the weekend. Likes to take trips in her father's truck. (3) Mother didn't give her much attention when she was small.

The siblings: There are eight children, three boys and five girls. Two of the girls are married. One of them quit school when she was in the fourth grade and married at the age of fifteen. Has been married two years.

- c. Work behavior: (1) Juanita is a very apt pupil leading the class. Writes well and is a splendid reader. Enjoys reading to others. (2) Missed all of her arithmetic problems just to get help. Talked all during chorus period. (3) Brought material for quilt. Sewed just about eight stitches. Threw it down. Said she couldn't sew. Class chose characters for play. Juanita volunteered for every part and although she would have done any one of them well, the children chose someone else. Teacher finally suggested Juanita for one part. She was pleased. (4) Brought some more quilt material and actually pieced one square. Missed every word in her spelling. In two minutes after the paper was checked, she said in the sweetest voice, "Miss L, will you please see if I know my spelling?" She knew it perfectly. Often she pretends not to know a thing that she does know. (5) Read a story to the class and seemed happy in doing it. (6) Was very happy when teacher asked her to help with the minuet. (7) She went from table to table fussing with everybody. Nothing suited her until the period for rhythms. She put on her colonial costume to dance the minuet and seemed happy in doing so.

- d. Outstanding trends and problem tendencies:

Behavior toward the other children: (1) the class likes to hear her read and that is the only thing she does that they like.

No one likes her. She has no playmates at school or in her neighborhood. Is quarrelsome and actually fights with boys and girls. (2) Juanita had a fight at recess with a boy much smaller than she. (3) Quarreled all day with the boys at her table. Had a fight on the way home with a little girl. She has been fighting all year. Played football with the boys. She fell down, blamed the boys, and "cussed them out." Went in the school house before recess was over and threw everything out of the window belonging to one of the boys that she had fussed with. When she was sent for the things she went after them, but instead of giving them to the owner gave them to another boy. (4) Played football again with the boys after being told not to. Got mad. Knocked one of the boys a "round" or two. The boy said he wouldn't hit a girl. Juanita used very ugly language. Stayed out of school that afternoon. Said her back hurt where the boys hit her. (5) In a very good humor today (for Juanita). Went on trip over the weekend. Likes to take trips in her father's dairy truck. (6) Stayed after school just hanging around talking to the teacher. Had something nice to say about many of the girls in her class. Said Ellen had pretty fingernails. Ethelene was always happy. Hazel could sing good. Lanny was always polite. Teacher suggested that she say some of those nice things to the girls. She said they were all so "funny" when she talked to them (7) Surprised everybody when she brought the money for Betty Mae for a ticket to hear the junior-program number. Betty Mae is the little girl she has been fighting all year. Betty Mae was very anxious to see the show. Was working hard to try to earn the money. The entire class praised Juanita for being so kind. When the principal came in the room they told her. Juanita beamed with delight. She has been polite, helpful, and did all her work well all day. Not one fuss or fight. I wonder what she will do tomorrow. (8) Juanita came in late. Burst open the door and shouted, "Here I come, like a tornado!" And she was a tornado all day. A regular whirlwind. Couldn't keep up with her. (9) She went from table to table fussing with everybody. Nothing suited her until the period for rhythms. She put on her colonial costume to dance the minuet and seemed happy in doing so. (10) As she was leaving the room she put both hands on the cheeks of a fourth-grade boy, much smaller than she, and lovingly patted each cheek and was just leaning over to kiss him when teacher interfered. (Also see remarks on work behavior.)

Tendency toward fantastic stories: (1) Her father operates a dairy truck and Juanita says that he sometimes makes \$500 a day but from the appearance of the home they have very little money. (2) Juanita told the class her sister had a new baby, and invited the teacher to come and see it. When the teacher went she found out the baby was not a member of Juanita's family at all. Lived on the same street but about a block away. Not related to the family.

e. Evaluation by children through the Guess Who test: Restless 2, unhappy 7, not well liked 10, bossy 3, does not work well with others 5, not dependable 6. (Fifteen in group.)

2. Interpretation

a. The two sides of Juanita: The one side is the more visible one. She is aggressive, fighting, rude in her contact with the other children, behaving in a way which makes them dislike her. The other side is suspiciously close to the other end of the line; she seems to be craving love and acceptance. The fact that she is more capable of behaving in the acceptance-acquiring manner when she does things she knows well how to do (reading) is only natural.

b. There are two main clues about the home situation: (1) She is a different child in school right after the trip with her father. Her mother neglected her when she was small. (2) What crazy story telling she does is connected with attempts to change the family situation from what it is into something it is not; bragging about father's income; the very peculiar assertion about the sister's baby. We would like to know how all that adds up. Especially the marriage of her fifteen-year-old sister seems to have had quite some effect on her fantasy life. Is her father's full attention such a rare treat for her that it has such an enormous effect on her next-day happiness?

c. What is she really fighting about? Only part of her fights look like ordinary aggression, and rejection of the people she fights. Two points in the picture invite different interpretations: (1) Her fighting with the boys looks more like an attempt to gain status with them than to reject them. She gets into one of those fights after playing with them again, in spite of the opposite advice from the school, and the worst language she uses is used in response to a rejection by the boys: they refuse to fight with "a girl." So she really fights them because they don't accept her. That would be the opposite from really rejecting them. Compare that with the "kissing incident." (2) Her quarrelsomeness seems to be in direct relationship with

her happiness at home; if accepted by her dad she can accept all the children. Both items would suggest that at least some of her fighting is an indirect outburst of conflict somewhere else, rather than direct rejection of the group she lives in.

d. Two things disturb me most. One is her detour way of taking revenge in the boy-fighting incidents. It looks more like the acting out of revenge fantasies than the realistic punishment of the boys who hurt her feelings. The other is the fact that she does not only daydream about her seventeen-year-old sister having that baby, but that she tells the story in spite of the likelihood of a checkup. Such fantastic story telling in a twelve-year-old indicates quite some degree of unrealism. It also suggests many more weird fantasies behind it. In other points, too, she seems to be acting on the basis of some fantasy rather than realistically. Remember how she storms into the classroom shouting, "Here I come, like a tornado"—and acting like a tornado all that day? There is a little too much self-awareness in it to make it look like "preadolescent storminess." Remember also the remarks that she often pretends to be dumber than she is. It seems, then, that some of her actions are not directly aimed at the persons and the world around her, but are rather dramatizations of her fantasies about herself and others. What are these fantasies, and which factor in her life keeps them that active?

3. Suggestions for next steps

- a. She seems to function either extremely well or to be very disturbing. Whenever you notice she is in one of her spells of excellent adjustment, and then gets in trouble after that again, use those opportunities to talk with her. For when she then begins to lay blame on others you have a better chance to show her that this is not always so, that she can get along with them, and that her quarrels therefore must be at least 50 percent produced through her fault. Try to see how she reacts to that, especially if you ask her what it depends upon whether she likes the others or whether she doesn't.
- b. The Guess Who answers of the other children are quite interesting. Ten of the fifteen tell you that she is not well liked. It would be interesting to find out just how the kids would "explain" that statement. Sometimes those theories of the children on the causes for the other fellow's behavior are extremely bright and give us a good lead. Seven say she is unhappy; try to get their explanation for that too.

- c. Anything you can get on her fantasy life—stories, paintings—is worth collecting. For that side of her life assumes a bigger place than we will want to concede to it in the long run.
- d. Try to get some insight into Juanita's original reaction to the fifteen-year-old sister's marrying. Let the mother tell you about her when you have a chance to get hold of her. Just let her go on rambling about anything she wants to tell you.
- e. Any chance to get a more detailed psychological snapshot of the father?

In the case of Juanita the teacher presents a rather vivid picture of a very vivid personality. Juanita certainly made herself felt at school! The anecdotes include excellent concrete description and the teacher does not reveal herself as too much disturbed by Juanita's escapades. Although she obviously did not condone many of the child's actions, particularly the fighting, and was fully aware of many of the attention-getting techniques that were being used, she still was able to accept Juanita as a person. The girl is reported as enjoying "being with the teacher alone" and staying after school "just hanging around talking to the teacher."

It is apparent, then, that the consultant did not need to take any particular pains to reassure this teacher but could proceed directly to assisting her with the organization and interpretation of what she had recorded. He did this by the way he presented his own response. The first major heading was "organization of material" which immediately suggested that the many facts about a child must be ordered in some fashion before their full, interrelated meaning can be grasped. The categories he used for arranging the information on Juanita were as follows:

Identifying data

What do we know about the family and Juanita's attitude to them? (Family constellation, the parents, the siblings)

Work behavior

Outstanding trends and problem tendencies (behavior toward other children, tendency toward fantastic stories)

Evaluation by children through the Guess Who test

The consultant then drew on his own knowledge of human development and behavior to interpret Juanita to her teacher.

But he did not explain to her how he went about it; he merely called attention to certain vital facts and stated his deductions. His intention clearly was less to point out scientific principles than it was to give the teacher practice in looking at children in certain ways. He might have said: "You see, her actions make sense. She needs affection but she has never had it so she goes around trying to attract attention. She just can't stand not to be noticed because this is what has happened to her so much of the time at home. In the past she learned from experience that people pay attention to her only when she is aggressive or when she has some fantastic story to tell, so she used these techniques over and over again. But she also is learning other ways of making herself noticed—she reads to the class, she hangs around the teacher after school, and she brings money so that another child can see the junior-program event. You see, it all hangs together. Juanita acts in the ways she has learned to meet her fundamental need for acceptance in a group."

It might be debated whether the consultant's indirect procedure, of merely presenting the interpretation and leaving it to the teacher to see why it made sense, or a more direct demonstration of the use of explanatory principles such as that just suggested, would have been more effective. At any rate, he did go on to give Juanita's teacher real help by making a series of concrete proposals that might lead to the answers to such questions as: How can I help this child? What other sources of information can I tap? What further facts should I seek to learn? What particular incidents should I investigate now?

THE CASE OF EMORY

The general description furnished on this boy stated: "Emory is thirteen years old and in the seventh grade. Something seems to be the matter with him. He is very cross and irritable. Doesn't want to do anything. I have found nothing to interest him. This was not true of Emory last year when I taught him in the sixth grade. I am making this study to try to locate the cause of the change in Emory."

Anecdotal record

September 13: Emory helped paint blackboards today. Helped first-grade children. But all day he seemed cross. He doesn't say much but his tone of voice is so cross. He picked at Ann on the playground.

September 14: Still isn't interested in anything at school. I've tried many things and nothing pleases or suits him. When I was talking to him today he told me he felt bad. He said he had breakfast. He also said he delivered papers in the afternoon. Class suggested many new jobs for him but none suited. He still uses a fussy tone of voice at all times. What has caused this change since last year?

September 18: Emory helped Thomas with his arithmetic today. He said he had a good breakfast and slept well. I tried to laugh and joke with him, but he didn't seem to want to. The class has noticed his fussy ways and teasingly they suggested we give him some medicine. He didn't like this joke either.

September 23: Very cross and irritable. Fussed with children. Emory was sticking a knife in the floor. A child said, "Emory, don't do that." Emory replied, "What's that to you? Tend to your own business." In talking to Emory today I found he was delivering papers in the morning, getting up at 3:30; that meant two paper routes a day. He went to bed at 9:30, thus having only six hours' sleep. I thought I had found a cause to work on. I went to see his mother after school. She was very cooperative. When I explained things to her, she said Emory should stop his early paper route at once. One afternoon route was enough. He spends his money. Mrs. H works at night and is not at home when Emory goes to work. The oldest daughter, who goes to high school and keeps house, had told Emory's mother how cross and irritable he was at home. When Emory has had time to catch up with his sleep I hope he will be a different person.

September 24: Emory seemed better today. He still delivers his papers. He told me he wanted to work and his mother didn't know what time he got up because she was at work. He joked and laughed some. Maybe he had a little more sleep but, too, the class went to the show this afternoon and he didn't have an opportunity to be cross and irritable after lunch.

September 25: Disturbed another group by going to the door and saying "Hey" to some children. Was not elected traffic cop at school council. Still sleepy and cross.

September 30: Voice started changing today. Very proud. Wants to be a man. Painted some mustaches on lips. In afternoon very sleepy. Is still getting up early to work.

October 2: On picnic Emory stayed by fire and slept some. He paid quite a bit of attention to Ann. Played with others some but was constantly picking at Ann.

October 3: Very cross. Growled when anyone touched him. Was not pleasant in discussion. Boswell disagreed with Emory about a type of light and Emory was very unpleasant, saying he would hit him or settle with him later. He almost went to sleep after dinner. I talked with him about his paper job and tried to explain to him why he was sleepy every afternoon. He said he got enough sleep and he wanted to work. I tried to drive home a health lesson, but so far I have failed. Probably another visit to his home will help, since his mother isn't at home when he goes to work.

October 6: Emory has quit his early morning job and seemed much more interested in school. He began a picture and tried making fire with sticks.

October 9: Seems to have more energy but still quarrels. Didn't take suggestions nicely. Told Marshall to shut up when he offered suggestions for his picture. His tone of voice is terrible. Seems to be cross all the time. Is going to doctor every day with sore finger.

October 15: In discussion Darnell asked: "What is petroleum ether?" Emory said, "There ain't no such a thing!" Two meanings were given for the word "stern." When Abe showed Emory two or more meanings of the word in the dictionary, he became angry when he found his meaning wasn't the only one. He doesn't seem to want to be proven wrong.

October 18: Brought jars and tin for group. Worked on properties in play. Was sent to find how many were coming to play from rooms. Talked in an ugly tone to two teachers. One teacher talked to him about it. He didn't mention it to me. But Boswell, who went with him, did. Maybe more sleep has helped some, but he is still very disagreeable.

October 21: Emory asked me this morning what I had against him. I didn't understand. He replied: "Why did you ask my mother to go to camp? I can't have a good time." I think he was joking. He groaned out several times when Boswell touched him accidentally. He talked to neighbors all day. But he volunteered for much of our work at camp. He brought a note saying he could go boat riding. It looked like his handwriting. I asked him about it and he replied very hatefully that his sister wrote it. I went to see Mrs. H this afternoon and found out she can't go with us. She said Emory had complained when she planned to go but she really didn't think he minded.

October 24-25: At camp. Emory was a great help on our trip. He was very helpful in the kitchen. He was on one meal committee

but did much more than his part on all meals. He enjoyed swimming and boat riding. He went to his cabin Thursday afternoon and took a nap. It pleased him very much to beat me playing checkers. He likes to tease the girls and stayed with them quite a lot. He picks at Boswell, a boy who is much smaller. But if anyone else picks on him, he immediately turns and takes up for Boswell. He told me it was natural for him to be grouchy.

November 5: Emory very quiet as a whole all during day. Felt bad, hurt himself on playground. Was asked to put flowers on bookcase. Told Florence, "Do it yourself."

November 6: Worked nicely all day. Asked me to fix adhesive tape on injured arm.

November 11: Accompanied me to doctor to see about my throat. Seemed to be very proud that I'd go with him. Came back after school to help select records for rhythms.

November 12: Fooled away time in work period. Worked arithmetic during reading. Carried wooden gun around as a walking stick.

November 13: Stuck some boys with pin. Does not like to read. Did not get books from library truck.

Emory's home situation

This teacher added a special set of notes on conditions in Emory's family: "Emory's home is average in appearance. The family is composed of mother, father, a daughter in the ninth grade, Emory, a brother in the fifth, and a small boy three years old. The mother works from 7:00 P.M. until 3:00 A.M., the father from 3:00 P.M. until 11:00 o'clock. The father takes care of the three-year-old boy in the mornings. The mother seems to be boss when she is at home. During my many visits to the home, the father has never been mentioned. The mother seems to be very high strung—very excitable—very high-pitched voice and talks all the time. Estelle, the girl in the ninth grade, prepares breakfast and looks after the other children. Estelle writes excuses for him [Emory] when he's absent. The mother depends on Estelle for many jobs. The mother is interested in her children. She pets and spoils the three-year-old. The children seem to have no respect for the mother. They do as they please in the home. May this not be due to her absence and sister supervision? Did the present behavior difficulties spring from the fact that

Emory failed to get enough rest when he was responsible for two paper routes?"

Reaction of the consultant

Your study is an excellent example of the way in which clearly described classroom behavior sometimes points unmistakably in the direction of the important causal factors behind it. It could be used as an example of how much school behavior in itself can teach us about the child—especially of course if we catch, as you do, the emotional undertone of that behavior as well.

1. The behavioral picture. What you tell us first about Emory is obviously a behavioral description. He is cross, irritable in class, has a fussy tone of voice. If joked at he refuses to laugh; gets irritated by joking of the group as well as of the teacher. To others he tends to react by saying, "What's that to you? Tend to your own business." Asked about sources of his grouchiness by you, he tells only half the story, is little communicative. This and all your other remarks contain a very obvious suggestion, that there is deep dissatisfaction somewhere in his life. His way of acting is not the dramatic but somehow satisfying naughtiness of a pampered boy. It is not the excited revolt of an overaggressive youngster, either. It is the sullen surrender of the unhappy child to moods and retreat.

This means that your picture indicates clearly enough what we must do next. We must locate *exactly* the place where this mood is generated. For it must have a constantly flowing source of supply somewhere. We might ignore this source for some time and try to counteract his moods by especially understanding attitudes on our side. This may work some time, as it does in your description, but we are sure it won't change things basically. Instead of counteracting Emory's moods by constant acrobatics of special patience within, it is safer to try and stop the flow of moods at the very source. You have very rightly felt this after even a few days of observation yourself.

2. Where do the moods come from? This is obviously our next question to ask. Very wisely you looked for the most palpable data first. Thus you get hold of:

a. His fatigue: This fatigue caused by lack of sleep—and probably by the whole lack of regularity and security in his life habits and home care—is an obvious source. We may hope that with its disappearance Emory's trouble might fade away. On the whole we are rarely that lucky. Usually such factors are coupled with others. This is the case here too. The decrease of

Emory's fatigue makes him more approachable but does not eliminate his basic irritability entirely.

b. The family situation and life frame of Emory are unsatisfactory on more than one account. In fact, this paper routine and fatigue problem is probably only one item. It is so deeply imbedded in that whole question of Emory's family relationship and home life that we can hardly attack it successfully in separation. It seems that Emory, while tired and sleepy through his early morning work also has a few interests vested in it and is not eager to give those up. What are they? Prestige as a breadwinner? Absence from the nagging domination through his mother? Practical advantages connected with disposal of some money which he keeps over, maybe? Or all that together? I think it is worth while looking into that question a little more—defining the role this whole paper-selling business plays in Emory's total life, and what it means to him *besides* fatigue.

c. The adolescent change: You start by wondering about the boy's being different in some undefinable way, right off the bat, when you see him again after vacation. This is an important observation you made right then and there. Whenever we have the feeling that any one attitude in a youngster has a very clearly marked onset, this is worth while following up as a practical clue. We notice he is very different. We have still some trouble to see the details about it.

Yet, in the course of your later observations we find an additional clue which might lead to a good hunch. You state that one day Emory's voice markedly changes, suddenly and pretty surprisingly so. He seems strongly aware of this, paints moustaches on lips, is very proud, wants to be a man. Now we know such marked changes do not occur without some preparatory period of physical and emotional changes which may be unnoticed in their real meaning for quite some time, but are definitely "there" and a strong source of all sorts of irritation and difficulty. In short, we may not be so wrong in assuming that the adolescent change into the pubescent growth cycle has been preparing itself all along, that *part* of Emory's irritability and fatigue may be connected with this—either without his knowing it, or maybe even with his realizing some sort of growth problem or other.

d. Emancipation from maternal domination: The general strain in Emory's home life as well as this item of adolescent growth would make us see another one of your remarks as illuminating. You report that Emory made a funny remark in connection

with your camp trip. He asks you what you had against him. "Why did you ask my mother to go to camp? I can't have a good time." You felt this remark of his was odd at the time. Maybe he was joking.

Our suggestion is, he was not. A youngster who is just about to begin stretching his feelers of adolescent independence is really disturbed by the presence of his parents in a nonhome situation. This does not mean that he doesn't like his parents. I have found this wish against the presence of parents at camp trips in youngsters who loved and adored their parents, whose parents were even a lot of fun—for other people's children. Yet, they felt handicapped by their presence somehow or other. This is naturally so. The growing adolescent experiments with new codes of behavior and independence which he feels different from and maybe not quite acceptable to the parental adult. He would rather be without too many reminders of that childhood world from which he is keenly set to grow away in big strides. Its mere existence disturbs him, reminders of its existence embarrass him.

Besides, you describe Mrs. H later. She does lead a hard life of work and toil, of course. She has very little time for her family. Probably she feels her responsibility and how little she can do about it very keenly. No wonder those periods when she is at home are not those of ordinary relaxation but those of busy strain, during which she tries to be sure to keep everything under control. No wonder therefore, that "she seems to be the boss when she's at home." She seems to be very high strung, very excitable, has a high-pitched voice and talks all the time. Why *should* Emory want her along on his one vacation from parental strain, his one chance for an adventurous camp irregularity? See how nice and happy he was on that trip.

3. What is our next line of approach?

- a. Continue the way you have already started. By showing Emory sympathy and understanding rather than getting too provoked by problem behavior, by trying to eliminate additional strain from his home background, by offering him the chance of a friendly and a little chummy relationship with you—one which contains motherly interest, *free* from the "high strung" domineering traits which his mother shows.
- b. Why not use Estelle more than we have? She seems to be a very active person in the life of this family. Her role for Emory is more than a superficial one, as you yourself say. Why not have a few talks with her? Get her to describe their life in a

little more detail; ask her not to say anything about it to Emory, but to help us understand what he is like, what his worries and troubles are, why she thinks he is as grouchy as that, and so forth. Estelle is a big chance for us—for information as well as for educational influence of the indirect type—but that latter must wait a little.

- c. Don't let Emory wave you off with an impatient gesture when you search for sources of trouble he has. He is embarrassed to make too much of it; didn't want to admit his early morning route, his lack of sleep, etc. Many other youngsters would have willingly used this as a marvelous excuse. If you feel there is something palpable there, go at it. Get him to tell you the whole story. Don't interfere too drastically by sudden changes, or talks with his mother. Then he will feel he can tell you about things without risking too direct chances which he may be scared of.
- d. Try to locate any other unpleasant experience Emory may have had between last vacation and this—maybe his pals, maybe Estelle can give you a lead. We want to get all the sources of his changed mood, or at least be sure there aren't any we are missing.
- e. Observe the further development of his relationship with Boswell. Maybe it can be given a twist into more definite friendship, or its development may at least teach us a few things about Emory's attitudes. At the moment, the main theme of this relationship is the handling of emotions around "picking." He picks on Boswell but also protects Boswell from being picked on by others. So maybe the "picking" theme is one which has more actual importance in his life than we know about as yet. What about fantasies in that direction? Any trace in the stories he paints, writes, tells?
- f. Whenever you get down to it, it would be interesting to get a few more specific data about Emory's physical status. How does he stand as to body development, body build, secondary sex characteristics, general physical health? Those data may help us eventually.

Emory's teacher showed considerable skill in anecdote writing from the beginning. Of course there was much generalized description but it was well interlarded with direct quotations of the boy's comments and with concrete description of his actions in specific situations. The consultant was quick to praise the well selected facts and anecdotes and in this way softened what

might otherwise have been taken as a criticism, when he pointed out some implications the teacher had missed. In this way, without directly saying so, the consultant called the teacher's attention to the fact that anecdotes about children are pointers and that in this case they pointed to principles of development, motivation, and behavior of which she was unaware. He organized the information supplied by the anecdotes in relation to some of these explanatory principles and demonstrated how this information suggested certain hypotheses about Emory when brought into focus in this way. A series of specific suggestions about next steps in the study and about how to work with the boy, his mother, his sister, and his companions followed. By these suggestions the consultant widened the base of observation and investigation for the teacher, indicated areas in which further anecdotes were to be sought, and implied that the process of learning to understand Emory fully would still take considerable time.

This material provided by the consultant was used as the basis of discussion in the study group and proved to be very valuable to the teachers. It gave them experience in organizing significant material about a child against a conceptual framework based on explanatory principles. It showed them how to bring together facts about a boy and general concepts about the nature of human development in order to gain deeper insight into the child's actions and in order to set up hypotheses to be verified or refuted by further facts.

SUMMARY

In this chapter we have described three tasks that must be accomplished by any teacher who seeks to understand the behavior of children and have told how members of a study group who did not recognize the nature of these tasks became bored and anxious. To reassure them and to help them define the basic steps involved in interpreting the behavior of a child was the task of the consultant and of the local leaders. The psychologist periodically received collections of anecdotes and other information about certain children from various members of the

child-study groups and wrote out extensive interpretations of these data together with a series of suggestions about next steps for the individual teachers to take. His analyses of these case materials were studied and discussed in each of the study groups.

These procedures were used over a period of two years, and through them the members of the study groups were assisted in the following ways: They were shown that the anecdotes they were writing were useful in interpreting children's behavior and were reassured as to the adequacy of the work they were doing. They were helped to see that facts about a child are pointers toward the particular scientific principles that explain this child's motivation and behavior. They were shown that various ways of organizing their information-about a child facilitated the locating of the explanatory scientific principles. The necessity for learning the scientific principles that explain human behavior as a prerequisite to making valid interpretations was demonstrated. The importance of regarding all initial conclusions about a child as tentative hypotheses and of checking these hypotheses by making further observations and gathering additional information was stressed. Finally, the leaders motivated the teachers to continue the child-study work by giving them initial hypotheses to check, by indicating additional information that was needed, and by suggesting practical ways of helping the children whose records were analyzed.

V

Learning Some Explanatory Principles

WILL THERE be much required reading in the child-study group? How much time will we be expected to spend each week in reading? Is the child study going to be very theoretical—you know, shall we have to read a lot of books? Such questions as these were frequently raised when representatives from the various schools were being invited to participate in the initial study group. Many classroom teachers—and principals too—were wary about entering the activity. They feared having to spend endless hours over reference books and research monographs. The prospect of numerous charts, graphs, and tables repelled them:

Why can't somebody just tell us what all this means? After all, what we want to know is what to do about Mary and Joe, and reading those things never has helped us very much. If this child study is going to come down to earth and be practical, why okay! But if it's going to have a lot of reading about experiments with animals and things like that, I'd rather do something else.

It was not that these individuals were disrespectful of works of scholarship. On the contrary, they had the standard American faith in scientific research—in the abstract. But they had struggled before with technical vocabularies and quantitative formulae and could trace few of the ideas they were using daily in the classroom back to these earlier encounters.

Both the local leader and representatives of the Commission felt that these teachers were to a certain extent justified in their hesitation. In addition to the regular teaching of reading, spelling, and arithmetic, they were guiding classes of thirty to forty pupils in the active study of various topics related directly to

current community and national life. This was a full-time job. When children are freed to investigate and get facts for themselves, their teachers are kept more than busy building up their own stock of knowledge and following the new leads children's questions are constantly uncovering. The teachers rightly felt that their classroom work would suffer if they had to spend many hours a week puzzling out the findings of numerous research studies and mastering the content of textbooks on child study. It was therefore agreed that there would be little if any "required reading" in the child-study program.

The teachers were told that in this undertaking they would be primarily concerned with the children in their own classrooms. Only such reading as would be of direct use in understanding the individuals they were studying would be expected. At the same time it was called to their attention that recent findings in half a dozen sciences have established the validity of a whole series of generalizations about how children grow and develop and why they behave as they do. The leaders recognized that the teachers would have to know something of these generalizations if they were to interpret soundly the actions and needs of the youngsters they were studying. But it was felt that they would seek such knowledge spontaneously when they felt the need for it as they tried to get at the significance of their anecdotes.

The preceding chapter suggested how this desire to know the principles that explain human development and behavior gradually became conscious. Members of the study group began to see that a particular child can be understood only by persons who possess two separate bodies of knowledge and know how to bring these together in orderly relationship. One kind of knowledge describes the individual being studied—as a physical being, in terms of his relations to other persons, in terms of his accumulated experiences and learnings, and in terms of his abilities, goals, and aspirations. The other kind is made up of generalizations and explanatory principles resulting from the scientific study of many children. These principles offer light respecting such matters as the functioning of the body, growth,

the impact of society on personality, and the emergence and development of individual interests, attitudes, values, and purposes; they provide explanations of how learning occurs, behavior originates and is patterned, and children differ from one another. This chapter tells how the members of the child-study group gradually began to learn the generalizations that they needed. In the attempt to understand individual children they turned for help not only to the consultants but also to books, monographs, and articles that reported the findings of research.

THE TRANSITION FROM CHILDHOOD TO ADOLESCENCE

One teacher remarked to the local leader that Ford, the boy she was studying, was just like lots of other children in the fifth, sixth, and seventh grades who were lazy, inattentive, and careless about their work. She said, "Why do so many children at these ages have such annoying habits?" Then she showed the following notes she had written during the preceding month:

Although he is in the fifth grade, Ford never finishes anything he starts. He chews paper. He pulls at his chair, often rocking back and forth for some time. He never studies or works unless held to the task.

September 10: Came late to school. Slammed the classroom door and then immediately interrupted a reading section to ask what work he must do. He missed eleven out of twenty words in spelling. Later he wrote a paragraph about the most interesting thing he did during the holidays.

September 11: Ford left the room to hang up a sweater and stayed thirty minutes. On the way back into the room he stopped to talk with four different boys at different tables. Finally he arrived at his own table, but instead of sitting on the chair he got on his knees in the chair, leaned across the table, and stared.

September 20: Ford is very quiet after having had influenza. He is not showing any of his restless, inattentive habits now.

September 21: Ford asked to paint a picture. He started the picture, found a comic magazine on a desk, and spent the rest of the period looking at it.

September 22: The group needed a box for a theater which was planned. Ford came in thirty minutes late at noon. Said he had been looking for a box. He interrupted the reading lesson. He tilted his chair which finally turned over and sent him sprawling on the floor.

He asked for help with arithmetic. He played with his pencil all during the time the teacher was helping him.

September 23: Ford dawdled all day today. He started a number of jobs but all were left unfinished. He put his feet against the table and over went his chair. He will not sit as he should. He is either sprawled across his chair, lying down in it, or rocking back and forth. It takes Ford so long to start any piece of work. He does not respond to my urging.

September 24: Ford was unusually restless today. Very talkative. Never hears any plans for work which are made in the group. Ford cannot follow directions. He invariably fails to hear the important part of any assignment and wants to know what to do long after the others are at work.

October 1: Wasted much time today. Had to be constantly reminded to get at his work.

October 2: Ford was unusually restless after lunch. Had to leave the room several times. Was dirtier than usual although he is never clean and neat.

October 4: Spent most of the day sharpening a knife on a rock. He read for a short while then sat fidgeting with articles on his table. What is wrong with Ford?

When the leader brought this topic up for discussion, other teachers agreed that they had pupils "just like Ford." Various hypotheses were advanced to account for such behavior but none of them really satisfied the group. Finally someone recalled that the consultant would be visiting the community during the following week, and suggested that he be asked to discuss children in the fifth, sixth, and seventh grades. This was accordingly arranged. The psychologist's presentation on "preadolescents" covered their physical characteristics, attention span, interests, attitudes toward work, leisure-time activities, tendency toward secrecy, relations with peers, relations with adults, and characteristic conduct. He also made concrete suggestions about how to help children who were about to enter the adolescent phase of the growth cycle.

The teachers were interested and somewhat relieved. It was comforting to know that this disturbing behavior might not be due to their own failure but instead was related somehow to a "phase of the growth cycle." At the meeting following the consultant's lecture they pooled their notes and prepared an exten-

sive digest of what he had said. This was mimeographed and distributed to all members of the group and became the basis for discussion at several meetings. As the teachers tried to relate the principles that had been given to them to the particular youngsters they were studying, the following questions arose: Why don't all children show these characteristics in the same grade? Some girls are like this in the fifth grade and others are just as nice as they can be until the seventh grade. Some of the boys get that way in the sixth grade and others not until the eighth, or not at all in elementary school. How can you account for this if such behavior is the result of being in a certain growth phase?

The leader responded by pointing out that children varied a great deal in their rate of growing up physically, that girls usually matured a year or two ahead of boys, and that there was a normal range of about five years in the ages at which members of either sex reached pubescence. She also said that it made a good deal of difference to children whether they matured before, at the same time as, or after most of their classmates. She cited the published case of a boy called Shorty as illustrating the problems faced by a child maturing late.¹ This story of Shorty was then read to one group which discussed it fully and repeatedly referred to it in subsequent meetings. Some of the teachers thought they could identify boys or girls who were facing similar problems, and many of them raised the question of how you could tell whether a child would develop physically relatively early or late. This led to the request for a lecture on the growth cycle. Such a presentation was made some time later when one of the Commission's consultants visited these schools.

In this lecture the psychologist pointed out how the rate of growth changes in certain characteristic ways during differing phases of the cycle, explained something of how these changes in rate are regulated by secretions from the endocrine glands, told how physical growth brings about new functioning in certain glands during pubescence, and exhibited graphs depicting

¹ Herbert R. Stoltz, "Shorty Comes to Terms with Himself," *Progressive Education*, XVII (November 1940), 405-11.

the growth of different individuals. The teachers saw that it is possible to tell a good deal about where upper-grade children are in their development by measuring the changes in their rate of growth. Notes made on this lecture were pooled and an outline was mimeographed and distributed for later reference. Some teachers asked for additional titles on this topic and did further reading, some of it quite technical in nature. The case of Sam, presented in Chapter VIII, will describe how one teacher applied what she learned from lectures and reading about the pubescent phase of human development.

THE EFFECTS OF CULTURAL FACTORS

The discussion of Shorty had aroused so much interest that some members of the group inquired whether published case studies were available that dealt with other problems of developing children. They were referred to *Children of Bondage* by Davis and Dollard.² Several of the cases described in this book were discussed in the group and stirred up much interest in the impact of culture—of the customs and standards of particular social groupings—on human personality. They could see certain folkways and folk attitudes continually cropping up in the behavior of children in their own classes. They began to see that children behaved in certain characteristic ways because their families belonged to one social group or another in the community. They got an idea of the tremendous struggle that some families, including the children, go through in the effort to improve social status. Equally severe struggles to avoid loss of social standing as the result of unfortunate events were likewise recalled. Gradually these teachers came to realize that a family's place in the local scheme of life has incalculable influence on the developing personalities of its children.

Daphne's teacher felt that this discussion greatly deepened her understanding of and sympathy for this child. Excerpts from her notes, reproduced below, reveal her new sensitivity to the importance of social and cultural factors:

² Allison Davis and John Dollard, *Children of Bondage* (Washington: American Council on Education, 1940).

Daphne is . . . fourteen years of age and in the seventh grade. There are five in her family: father, mother, Godwin (sixteen years old), Daphne (fourteen years old), and Dorcas (twelve years old). The economic condition of the family is very low. The mother is the only one in the family who works. She makes around \$16 a week. They live in a shack of a house which appears to be falling down. Conditions there are rather deplorable. The father is said to be unable to work. The sixteen-year-old brother is sick; therefore he does nothing.

Daphne's appearance is good considering her environment. She was taken out of the fourth grade and placed in the seventh-grade group because she was so large and old. Here she is now trying work on a fifth-grade level. She is very shy. She says nothing in the group unless talked to. The mother seems rather intelligent. One can easily see that she is the mainstay in the family. She has a great deal to do, but manages to carry on in a way.

October 13: Daphne's quietness is very noticeable. She doesn't take any part in our discussions except when called on to do so. She is not aggressive. On the other hand, on several occasions when someone, she thought, was trying to impose on her, she was like a young tigress. I wondered then if beneath all that quiet attitude there wasn't a very dominant temper which, when disturbed, would assert itself very strongly. Apparently, though, she is very timid and shy. Could this withdrawing behavior be due to her economic and social level?

October 27: Went to Daphne's home today. She still lives in the little shack. I wonder how she comes to school as well fixed as she does. I'm sure she is very undernourished. She is quite sensitive, so doubt if she would accept help. The father was at home with the children. He said he couldn't work as he had heart trouble. I found that they seldom attend church—no wonder—their social and economic standing are very low.

November 10: Daphne did take part in our discussion today. Teacher tried to keep children from commenting on the fact too much for fear of discouraging her so she would not try again. I feel that she is taking more interest in things than she has in the past. She is beginning to chum with some of the quieter girls in the room. She has been playing with this group on the playground. They are girls from the lower social brackets, I note.

November 24: I discovered today that Daphne dislikes Carlotta very much. I tried to find out why. She wouldn't give any reason. She just said, "She thinks she (Carlotta) is so fine." I wonder if she is jealous of Carlotta's popularity. I don't recall that Carlotta has

ever been anything but nice to her, but I do realize the great social distance between them.

December 8: Daphne has never been able to buy any books. Teacher has always looked out for her. She hasn't thought to thank teacher for any kindness. Am I wrong not to suggest that she should merely for the correct training of the child? I haven't.

January 12: Daphne is becoming a little more sociable. I notice that she enjoys the lunch period very much. Her manners are as good as the average in the room. She laughs and talks with the group at her table. I notice that she is not as timid as when we first began serving lunches. Daphne had to remain out of school all of last week. She had to keep house as her mother was sick. She said her father helped but she still had plenty to do.

February 16: Daphne does not remain out of school as much as she used to. I am wondering if our lunch-period serving program has been an incentive to bring her to school more regularly.

March 23: Teacher talked with mother today. One could see that she was very much overburdened. She said that she wished she could do more for the children in school but that she found it a great effort to feed the family. She said that Daphne helped a great deal with the housework and that was a help to her. I feel that Daphne won't be in school much longer. As soon as she is old enough she will have to go to work.

April 20: Daphne had an argument with Blair today. She said he kicked her under the table. She showed her sleeping temper again. She doesn't bother anyone but rises to the point of protection if the need presents itself. Isn't that characteristic of those in her position?

May 4: Daphne was voted by the group to be the quietest person in the room.

The teacher concluded her notes with the following summary:

Here is a case of a child from a poverty-stricken home, living in an environment which is characteristic of low status—poor house, crowded conditions, father and brother ill, mother working, all undernourished, and with complete absence of any recreational facilities. I am amazed that Daphne has continued in school and also that she has succeeded as well as she has.

THE NEED FOR AFFECTION

Some of the children whose anecdotal records were discussed showed personality difficulties that could obviously be explained

neither by their stage of physical development nor yet by their cultural background. A number of girls and boys clearly were unhappy, at odds with the world, filled by some deep unsatisfied longing, or doubtful of their own worth. Such cases could not be interpreted satisfactorily by the teachers on the basis of their current store of information. The question always came up, "I wonder what happened to him to make him like that?" This was true when Clint's teacher presented the following notes about him to the group:

Clint is a seven-year-old boy. Early in the school year the teacher made a visit to the home. She found the house very dirty and poorly furnished. Sealed walls were painted dark brown. Furnishings were few and gaudy. There were six rooms with poor bathroom facilities. Clint and mother (Mrs. R) live with Mr. R's father and stepmother, two uncles, an aunt, three children, and two boarders. The grandfather travels, the grandmother, aunt, uncles, and boarders work at different hours and share six beds between them. Mother not able to work; expecting another child, of which she is resentful.

Mrs. R was married two years before Clint was born. After his birth she left him with a Negro cook and worked for a time. She said her figure was ruined through the birth of Clint and she didn't know what it would be like after her expected child is born. She said Mr. R married her because she was pretty and since marriage had always told her she wasn't well educated. She finished the sixth grade and all the R's finished high school.

In 1938 conditions were bad with them, and in order to cut expenses they moved in with her in-laws. Mother said Clint went to nearby rural school until Christmas last year. He wasn't old enough to enroll, but the school needed more pupils and enrolled him. She did not send him after Christmas as he was thumbing rides to and from school. She said he should go to Willowdale school, but she wanted him to attend a large school and since his half-uncle comes to this school, they could go together.

Clint has not paid his fee and does not pay for lunch. Teacher let him take free lunch for awhile, but he wouldn't eat the lunch and talked about the dirty food, so teacher stopped him from taking it and went to see his mother. Mother wants child to have lunch, since he really needs it. She said when he got hungry he would eat it, and that he is like his father, who wants the best or nothing.

October 12: Clint always late; mother not well and can't get him off early. Promises to do better after child is born.

October 30: Clint out of school ten days; teacher went to see him. Mother in hospital and grandmother said she couldn't send him to school since she worked. Father came home for the big event but wasn't at home when teacher called; he was out seeing friends. Clint was about sick with a cold and was very dirty.

November 3: Clint back in school and very happy over his new brother, Sammy, and glad his mother is at home so that he can come to school. He was glad his father had been home and told the children all about his uniform and his work in the Marines. He was pleased that he had something interesting to talk about and tell the children.

November 9: Clint is very thin and seems to be hungry; when other children have food he begs for it with his eyes. He sits with his hands in his mouth, always pushing or kicking someone. He never finishes a job, but seems to want and need something which teacher believes is food and affection. Teacher talked to Clint, and he wants the hot lunch and promises to eat it and be nice.

November 16: Clint has been late three mornings; comes in at 9:45. Teacher went to see mother, who was very pleasant, and said she had to get up at two and six to feed baby and couldn't get Clint to school any earlier.

November 19: Clint out of school two days.

November 20: Clint back in school on time. Had been out to help with sick baby.

November 23: Clint is bringing milk to school from home and seems proud to be able to bring some food like other children.

November 30: Clint came in at 10:00 today, very dirty, saying his mother was *half* sick and couldn't get his breakfast earlier.

December 4: Clint not in school today.

December 5: Clint came at 10:00 very happy; said he tried to make it on time. Said his mother was sick yesterday.

December 14: Clint late again because it was so cold mother wouldn't wake him.

December 15: Clint came at 9:35 saying, "I have my two cents for Mama's and Daddy's Christmas present." His eyes shone and he was thrilled that he could make a Christmas present for his parents such as the other children were doing.

December 18: Clint has worked hard and finished his Christmas gifts. The first job he has completed and seems to be thrilled at having done a job well. For past several weeks Clint has been dusting and cleaning room and takes pride in doing the work, sometimes dusting three and four times a day. This keeps him busy and he doesn't interfere with other activities as he did at first.

January 4: Clint on time today. As he came in he said, "Look what I got Christmas—a pencil box and a pistol. Guess who came home Christmas! My daddy." Again he was happy to have something to show and discuss with the children.

January 5: Clint late again and said his mother couldn't get up early since it was so cold.

January 6: Clint brought five cents to get milk the rest of the week. He was delighted that he could buy milk like the others.

January 8: As we were getting ready for lunch Clint said, "I'm not going down and get milk today, it isn't good and I'm not going to drink it." Teacher talked with him and found that his mother had told him the milk wasn't fit to drink—if it were good, it couldn't be sold for one cent a day. Teacher explained about the cost of milk and Clint drank the milk but said he wasn't going to take it next week.

January 11: During discussion period Clint said, "I went to town yesterday (Sunday) on the bus and walked home; me and my brother went to every show in town." (This is a half-uncle not a brother.) A child said, "On Sunday?" Another said, "Where did you get the money?" Clint said, "I ride the bus and go to the shows for nothing; I tell them I'm five years old." Most of the children know he hasn't paid his fee. Teacher talked with mother, who thought he was out playing with his twelve-year-old uncle, and said she didn't see anything wrong with what he had done, and said after all his father was in the Marines fighting for his country, and said his child was due something and would get it one way or another.

The teachers who heard this report were particularly struck by Clint's attempts to attract the attention of other children and the teacher. They discussed this at length and some of their remarks made in this discussion are worth reproducing: "He evidently gets very little affection at home." "It seems doubtful whether he ever received adequate attention and affection from his mother." "Isn't he just hungry for love and affection?" "He is trying in his school group to satisfy his inner urge to be liked." "He must feel alone and realize that he is not liked in the group, so he keeps himself in the limelight by taking an active part in the discussion." "He likes to clean the schoolroom because he likes the approval, not the cleanliness. He wants attention one way (kicking) or another (doing things for the teacher)."

After agreeing that lack of parental affection must be influ-

encing Clint's behavior, they went on to examine the anecdotes to see whether or not they would verify their opinions about the mother's attitude toward him. They noted that she resented having children and that she claimed it was ruining her figure, a matter of special concern because her husband had married her because she was pretty. The teachers also observed that Clint saw little of his father and suspected that the grandmother paid little attention to him. They concluded that their interpretation was justified that Clint had been starved for affection all his life, and that his behavior reflected a constant anxious search for the security of some stable, dependable relationship with another human being.

The study of Clint led to a discussion of whether there are basic conditions, relationships, or experiences that human beings just must have during infancy and childhood if they are to be happy, adjusted persons when they grow up. This, in turn, led the group to study recent literature about the basic needs of children. One member presented the essential material from Frank's article, "The Fundamental Needs of the Child,"³ at the next meeting of the group. When the same topic came up in another group a teacher made a full outline of the chapter on basic needs of human beings from the book *Emotion and the Educative Process*.⁴ This outline was mimeographed, used as the basis for discussion at one meeting and kept by each member of the group for later reference. In the course of the next two years a considerable number of these teachers turned to the original documents in the effort to get a better understanding of the motivation of the individuals they were studying.

A STUDY OF FANTASY

Another anecdotal record led to even more extensive study. The subject was a boy called Pressley, whose tendency to dramatize has already been noted in Chapter II. His extensive fantasy life was an intriguing and complex topic for this group of teach-

³L. K. Frank, "The Fundamental Needs of the Child," *Mental Hygiene*, XXII (July 1938), 353-79.

⁴Daniel A. Prescott, *Emotion and the Educative Process* (Washington: American Council on Education, 1938), Chapter VI.

ers, but they made it still more complicated by raising the moral question of whether fantasy involved lying. We shall deal with this case at some length in order to show how members of the group gradually acquired a scientific concept of the nature and causes of fantasy.

The teacher's records

Pressley is a boy, six years and five months old, and in the first grade. The family is lower class and he has a brother Lanny, eight years old, and a sister, Florine, three years old. I chose Pressley for study because I am disturbed about his fantasy life. He has from the beginning of the year related many impossible experiences. But I will let the record tell the story.

October 8: Pressley took nails from boards without being asked. Voluntarily helped clean up in "put-away time." Was reluctant to clean up in last work time. Cried during play period. I could not find cause. At times seemed unsure of where to sit.

October 9: Still unsure about where he should sit. Brought hammer to pull nails from boards. Had not been asked to bring hammer. Wanted to show other children how to make paper envelopes like several children had made. Showed four children.

October 12: Pressley said, "I didn't like school the first day but I do now."

October 13: Told about a brown pony of his running away. In afternoon he brought tape and said he would tie it together and catch the pony.

October 14: Talked about pony being lost. Asked other children to look for it.

October 15: Came bursting into room saying he had found his pony in the afternoon. Said he had stomach-ache. In playtime took care of Arlene's puppy who is visiting us. Absorbed in his job. Looked after it voluntarily, too.

October 16: Burst into room saying, "My stomach is well. Mama gave me pepsin oil."

October 19: Took care of new child, showing him where crayons are, etc.; wanted me to notice how quietly new child had taken chair. Came to me at playtime with bobbie pin scratch on face. Said Ruby did it. Admitted he had bothered her. Cried but did not seem at all angry at Ruby. After I read "Pelle's New Suit," he said he wanted to tell about the little lamb his father gave him. He said his daddy had made him a whole suit of clothes from lamb's wool.

October 23: Pressley came with biscuit tin on his hand—said he

had broken his finger. Pressley more anxious to go about room doing jobs to help clean up than to stick at one job of his own. Often comes to tell me little happenings.

October 26: Wanted to clean up rather than stick at job of his own. Brought little hammer to school. Wanted to show it to others. Said, "I love little dogs. Whenever I see my dog, I want to pet it." Voluntarily said "Little Boy Blue" to group, when other children were saying poems and singing songs. Wanted us to visit his house. When we went he showed us where he kept his toy pony. Put his arm around his little sister.

October 28: Chose to paint. Painted one picture, then made sail-boat out of clay, the most careful piece of work he has done. Brought blanket to rest on. Proud of it, said it was his little sister's. Got it out after lunch to rest on. In playtime found big cardboard cylinder and rolled on it alone most of playtime.

October 29: Worked on train all of activity period. Running nose. Nose has been running for about two weeks. Asked me to help him fold his blanket, yet strolled off in the few minutes he had to wait while I helped another child. Gladly came back when I called him. After lunch said his little dog followed him to school.

November 3: Pressley still has runny nose. We went on trip to park and depot. Said he had been on train lots of times. Had ridden to New York. That is where he had got his little toy horse. Said he just loved his toy horse. He had kept it for about ten years (he is six), he said, on the whatnot. Shoe started to come off when walking in park; went on regardless, finally picked it up and carried it until I suggested he put it on. Played more constructively in the train than at any other time. Thought of building ticket office and café in connection with it. On way home from trip, as we passed store, said his uncle works there. "I know a lot about our town. I know all there is to know about this town."

November 5: Worked on train with blocks during activity period. Busy all the time. Rigged up pipe for water tank to fill engine. Came to get me to show it to me. This afternoon he brought an old tin tea kettle with string tied to it. Said it was for the train. Sulked for first time today, when he and other child quarreled over a chair. He thought I had been unfair. Wandered out of room while others were reading. Was restless in second reading period until I asked him if he would like to wash sink. Then he was happy and busy. Wanted to share his resting blanket with another child. One time before finding place on rug, Pressley wandered on edge with his heels. Was very dirty today. Brought bicycle to school too this afternoon.

November 6: When playing on the train today after helping to build it, Pressley was the billy goat that one of the children who were going to Charleston on train went to get. Pressley tied string around his neck for billy goat's rope. Wore it both morning and afternoon. Came with little metal ring attached to other end of it in the afternoon. Came into room in morning before the other children did. At my suggestion he placed bright-colored doilies under plants. Chose green for his table. "I love little green things," he said. In rhythms sang loudly and self-consciously (music supervisor was here). Was unself-conscious as bear and monkey which we had seen on our trip.

November 7: When he saw turkey buzzard fly over playground today, Pressley said, "There goes my pet pigeon." He said, "I have pigeons and almost all the kinds of animals there are." Noticed striped scarf around my neck. Said he thought it was pretty. Made funny noise when he first came into rhythms. Worked constructively and cooperatively. In making up story about trip he wanted to tell about water tank.

November 10: Chose to color in activity. Couldn't stick at his job but happy when asked to help clean up room. Gave children his tea kettle to use on train. Brought little church envelopes to use as tickets on train. Saw engine as we were coming out. Said his grandfather drives that engine.

November 11: Pressley brought whistle to school again. Didn't use it. Chose to play game with others in playtime. Worked more steadily in activity period. Told about how his grandfather drives engine, while we were reading a story about trains. Brought big bucket to school in afternoon. Wanted to stay and wash tables after school, using his bucket. Sat on top of big barrel which is to be the boiler of the engine whenever he had a chance.

November 12: Pressley spent most of the day either working on his new apron or gloating over it. He took it home at noon to show his family. Came back saying that they all liked it. His mother has started to work. He has shown more satisfaction with this apron than anything he has done in school. Wanted to stay and help clean up after school.

November 13: Came in morning saying he had had an airplane ride—that his daddy is a pilot. Brought handkerchief for second time this year, and when I suggested he use a Kleenex he proudly took out his big handkerchief and used it. Most of the time he seems oblivious of his running nose. Sits on top of barrel whenever he has a chance. Came back to school almost half an hour after school was over. Noticed some dirty colored paper in wastebasket. He wanted

it to take home to his sister when she plays house. So we talked casually together and I asked him his three wishes. First, he wishes he had a horse, second, an airplane, and third, a car.

Pressley wore his new apron to work with clay. Admired it for a little while before starting to work. Worked unusually long for Pressley. He made a "kind of a little stump for someone to sit on." Very ardent in cleaning up table after working. Flourished a big white handkerchief often during the day. Blew his nose when he needed to. Wanted to read with other reading groups today besides his own. Wanted to stay after school to help clean up but I had to go to a meeting. Nurse came in morning to examine children. He seemed interested and unafraid. She talked with them about keeping clean. In afternoon he came unusually well polished. Seemed proud of himself too.

November 17: Was unusually responsive in reading today. Came a little early. Voluntarily read new stories he saw in room. Seems to have suddenly "caught on" to reading. When nurse was in room testing eyes, Pressley found it hard to settle down. Volunteered before other children came that Santa Claus is going to bring him an electric train. Later in morning when children were talking about what they wanted Santa Claus to bring them, Pressley said he wanted a horse more than anything and hoped Santa would bring him one. In passing barrel, Pressley said it was very kind of the man to give us this barrel for our train. Continued to take care of his nose today independently. Wanted to say a poem to children, but when he came up he found he had forgotten it. Wanted part of his apron cut off where it seemed to get in his way. Had a fine rest. Slipped on floor and fell.

November 18: Came to school early. Said his foot hurt him a lot after he had fallen down yesterday. Got up from rest before he was asked to, but went back willing when reminded. While reading the "Run-Away Engine," Pressley often interrupted to say that just the same things that happened to the engine had happened to his grandfather when he drives his engine. Even when the runaway engine jumped the drawbridge, and the coal car fell onto a barge below, that had happened to his grandfather too. In afternoon Pressley brought an old spoon kept in his pocket most of the time; drummed on shoe with it some of the time. Wanted to stop after school and help clean up. Some mules passed our window. Pressley said his grandfather has two mules, one is white and one is red. Pulled up one trouser leg before scrubbing tables—said that helped him work. He and the other boy cleaning up were talking about being whipped. I asked if he was whipped much and he said, "No, just when I slip

off." I saw him from a little distance going home, his trouser leg still up and his arm tucked into his shirt with the sleeve hanging empty as though he were playing "broken arm."

November 19: Saw Pressley on playground at noon recess going around playing broken arm. He is getting chummy with Carroll, who is a disorganized child. Wanted to climb in open basement window when we were fixing water pipes. Later came to get me to show me his brother's bike. I suggested he take his blanket home to be washed. He unbuttoned his shirt and stuffed the blanket in; the children laughed. He could become the class clown. Talked more about animals he wanted for Christmas. Says he wants to be a farmer when he grows up. Very dirty today.

November 24: Chose to paint; started painting carefully and clearly. Saw the boy next to him was painting a boat, changed what he was making into boat, without form, however. Painted second picture more carefully. A generous pattern. Was more careful in care of painting materials than ever before. Voluntarily read book on book table of train stories made from children's chart stories. Wanted to read with two reading groups. Better self-directed today during reading periods, when he was not in the reading group, than any other time. Interrupted stories often to tell about his grandfather and father. Said his father has a new Packard V8. Said he has a little new love bird. When Edgar needed his milk bottle opened, Pressley tried to get down bottle opener for him. Said he would not be at school this afternoon as they were going to the country. Came however.

November 25: Pressley came very dirty and thinly dressed, though it was a cold day. Painted two pictures in desultory way, then wanted to play on train. When taking care of self during reading time, Pressley changed from one thing to another quickly. But in reading stuck to job well. Was interested. Volunteered often. Interrupted story often. In a familiar story he anticipated what was coming and gave it before the time came. In the playtime, wandered over to big boy's bike again. But then joined game with group and seemed to have a good time. When a child was telling about how a cow chased him, Pressley said, "Maybe that was our cow that ran away." One of the children said, "Oh, no, it wasn't. You ain't got no cow." Pressley was silent.

November 27: Worked hard on painting a picture. Clear and carefully done. Showed children warming themselves by a fire, which we did on our trip yesterday. Found it hard to find something to do when his group was not reading. In reading tipped his chair back and forth. Wandered from group when we were playing together.

He had offered his handkerchief for us to use on drop-the-handkerchief, but we used Billy Joe's. I wondered if that was why he left us. Anticipated events in story we were reading—remembered almost word for word though we have not read it often. Brought old croquet mallet to school in afternoon. After school came back in a half-hour. Helped clean up; when leaving said, "Goodbye, thank you for letting me help you clean up." As I went past his house I saw him playing with another first grader, with two large sides of packing boxes that we had discarded this afternoon.

November 28: Worked whole activity period on painting for first time. Each picture different from any he has made before—two new patterns. One basic idea copied from another child but arrangement of color his own. Painted a tree for first time, with frame of alternating stripes of blue and red around it. Paintings careful and clean. Materials well cared for. When he finished third picture he said, "Will I have time for another?" There wasn't time. He complied cheerfully, saying "I just love to paint." Wanted to read with another group besides his own. Tried writing his name independently for first time. Has some difficulty in hand coordination—pictures likewise are immature for age level. We went to junk yard for more boxes for train. Reluctant to rest when carrying a box even though he was out of breath. Worked ardently in putting train together. Kept thinking about more things we need for train during day and would offer suggestions spontaneously. Wanted to play in train all his spare time. On his way to junk yard, pointed way off in opposite direction from where he lives and said, "Yonder's where I live. We keep lots of cows and have to have them all fenced in." He also told about riding on a pony all yesterday afternoon. Said the pony's name was Doc (that was the name of the pony we rode on the farm Wednesday). Said he gave another boy rides, too. Wanted to stay and clean up after school. He asked Ellen, who also stayed, to help clean up, for her three wishes just as I had asked him several weeks ago. He asked me, too. He also told Ellen and me about how he had been chased by a bull.

December 1: Showed more interest in train than anything else all day. Wanted to be in it all his spare time. Chose to work on it this week. Helped put brown paper on side of one car. This was teacher initiated, but he stuck by 'til time to stop work. When children were telling about what they did over the weekend he gave a modified version of the trip we had last week, only saying it all happened at his uncle's, and all the important things had happened to him. When we read the story about our trip, I noticed that I had left out the part about the pony kicking. He seemed disappointed,

but was happy again when I suggested we make a whole story just about the pony. Had a very good rest. Looked almost asleep. During day kept telling me about riding a horse and how he had on riding breeches. I suggested that we learn to write "puppy" after we had just read a story about a puppy. I wanted Pressley to stay and clean up after school. He was given the job of washing easel. Had trouble doing it. Always puts on his apron before he starts to work. We couldn't talk together much today as they were having movies in room next door. Before he left he said, "You know I can't read the story about our trip yet. Could I read it before I go?" So we read it together.

December 3: Worked on train. Painted car. Worked whole activity period. Started to paint other side of car before he finished one side. When reminded, he came back pleasantly and finished that side. The other side he painted over twice. Completely absorbed in reading time. When finding his place he approached each time with a loud noise. Rested sleepily. Folded blanket carelessly. Talked several times today about pony ride he had had yesterday and how the pony had jumped two fences. On his way out a child discovered Pressley had tucked a reading book inside his coat. The children are not supposed to take their reading books home yet. Pressley gave it to me a little shamefacedly. A half-hour later, after dismissal, he came back. He brought a beautiful pine branch in with him for the room and wanted to know if I wanted him to stay and help clean up. He stayed. I asked him what he liked best about school. He said, "Reading and singing." He was very dirty today. His nose is much better. He is wearing warmer clothes now and his mother is putting drops in his nose. He often asks me to look at his warm coat and tells me what a nice warm coat it is.

December 4: Pressley still very dirty today. Enthusiastic worker on train. Controlled and businesslike about it until working on it while I was teaching reading to another group; then spilled paint and repainted parts that didn't need painting. Told again how he wants Santy to bring him a horse. Said maybe his daddy would give him one for Christmas. Said he would have a fit if he got one. When coming back from rhythms ran yelling to his chair. Had good sleepy rest. Folded blanket nicely. Looked pleased when I spoke about it. Got down milk-bottle opener for a child who needed it. Came back about half-hour after school was over to get little coat he had left. Somewhat silent today. Hung around a little, then left, taking with him old cardboard box.

December 5: Came to school with face and hands clean but with dirty clothes and dirty handkerchief. Came early investigating every-

thing and chatting. Picked up book he had carried home the other day to read and read some in it voluntarily to me. His brother has the same book at home and had taught him some of it. Was "dining man" on the diner in train today. Put on his work apron saying that "dining men" on diners wear them. Drank his bottle of milk on the diner, then emptied it, washed it out and filled it with water, put top on it—kept opening and shutting top and serving people. Frequently comes to tell me what he is doing yet apparently absorbed in his activity when he is playing.

December 8: Told children about trip to grandfather's where he rode a horse and the saddle came off. Said he took another child with him. Other child corroborated his story. Brought magnolia seed pod to show to children. He did not know what it was. Still played on train in all spare time. Said that his family was going to get him a pony this noon or see about it. Said he had moved and has pet pigeons at his new house. Also said his new house is far from school. Said he was not coming back to school this afternoon, but he did. Wanted to stay this afternoon and clean up. Cleaned in desultory fashion for short while, then left. In reading time, when working alone, read stories from chart then pulled them down by mistake. Shamefacedly left chart. Before he starts to write, Pressley always says: "I can't do it."

The group discussions

The group's first response to this account of Pressley indicated their baffled concern over the little boy's unbridled imagination. His teacher asked for help. One of her colleagues wondered whether he would ever "learn the difference between truth and untruth" if allowed to "tell such wild tales." Another agreed that this was a vital issue, holding that "it is important to help the child see the difference between telling a truth and telling a tale." A third raised the question of how to go about this, suggested that there might be a reason for Pressley's tales and pointed out that he "seemed interested in animals." His own teacher reinforced this statement by saying that he had no pet, although he seemed to want one, and added that she thought he might be "somewhat neglected at home." Others said they had taught similar children in the past and that it had always bothered them "to know just how to handle" fanciful stories. The idea was advanced that "there are causes back of all be-

havior"; it was suggested that they had "hit on the answer" when they guessed that "Pressley needs a real flesh and blood animal for a pet."

The local leader of the study group pointed out that there was quite a bit of material on children's fantasies in the library and suggested that they might wish to study this knotty problem more carefully. The group agreed and at the next meeting four teachers presented reports on their reading. One of these reports was made by Pressley's own teacher who had consulted Jersild's *Child Psychology*.⁵ Another was made by a school principal who discussed the chapter on fantasy and daydreaming from *The Psychology of the Unadjusted School Child*.⁶ The minutes of this meeting and of the next one show that the discussion chiefly turned about the question of what should be done about fantasy and that the teachers did not readily clarify their conceptions of the causes of daydreaming and fantastic storytelling.

For instance, one person noticed from the material reported "that superior children have more fantasy life" than others and that this tendency was more characteristic of young than of older children. Another remarked that "one authority stated that make-believe is a child's natural way to learn things." While some felt that the scientific facts justified the opinion that "it is natural for Pressley to have a great amount of fantasy life" at his level of development, others thought that there was danger that it might be "excessive" in amount, that it might "continue too long," and that there was "need to lead the child gradually away from too much imagination." This discussion, with its uncertain conclusions, led to a request to the consultant for a talk on this topic during his next visit. He gave the talk and, as before, the notes taken at his lecture were compared, collated, sent to him for editing, mimeographed, and distributed to each member of the group as reference material. In this way the group and the consultant collaborated in building up a body of

⁵ Arthur T. Jersild, *Child Psychology* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1940).

⁶ John Jacob Morgan, *The Psychology of the Unadjusted School Child* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1924).

notes containing simple statements of the scientific principles that explain various aspects of child motivation and behavior.

Follow-up study by the teacher

While the group as a whole went on to consider anecdotes about other children and to read about many topics, Pressley's teacher continued to study him and accumulated anecdotes through the following spring. Late in the spring she tried to organize what she had learned about Pressley and to give some interpretation of his behavior. Her summary of the year's work follows:

The inspiration for making an anecdotal study of Pressley came from our child-development study group. We were given help in our group on how to observe children and how to record the simple events, no matter how insignificant they appeared. The booklet written by the psychologist on "What Should We Know About a Child?"⁷ also helped us in observing and recording. About the time I selected Pressley to observe closely, I read *High, Wide and Deep* by Madeleine Dixon.⁸ Although I have always been fascinated to watch and listen to children, this book made me aware again what a creative procedure such watching and listening can be. It gave impetus to the observing, and made of record making a real pleasure every day.

As the record making went on, I began to wonder more why this child found it necessary to have so many fantasies. In December, when the anecdotal record was read aloud to the the group, the succeeding questions and discussion again brought out: "Why does Pressley fantasy so much?" The leader of the group pointed out that this tendency, if unchecked, could lead a person into serious maladjustments in later life. I began to wonder how far the child was removed from reality and how healthy was his daydreaming.

I was glad when our child-development group decided to study fantasy. Through the reports and discussion in class, and through reading which I did, I began to learn and to think more about how children project their desires and unfulfilled inner needs into fantasy. I began to think more about Pressley's particular fantasies and to try to see what they might mean. I also tried to relate his fantasies to incidents of his daily behavior and to what I was learning through visits to his home.

⁷ Fritz Redl, "What Should We Know About a Child?" (Chicago: Commission on Teacher Education, American Council on Education, 1940, mimeographed).

⁸ Madeleine Dixon, *High, Wide and Deep* (New York: John Day Co., 1938).

When the psychologist came, he gave further insight into our growing picture of fantasy. He analyzed the types of daydreaming, and I placed Pressley's in the second type, which the psychologist analyzed as the type where the content is conscious but not necessarily related to the problem that produces the daydream. The psychologist emphasized that to get at the meaning of the daydream it is necessary to get behind the daydream itself into the feelings in the child that produce it. This gave further stimulus to finding out more about Pressley's life at home.

In visits to Pressley's home during the year some of the following situations have become apparent:

1. That Pressley without being actually mistreated is somewhat neglected. Pressley has fewer things with which to play than other children of his class have. His most cherished possessions are a china horse and a china lamb, whose places are on a whatnot in the combination bedroom-livingroom of his family. Sometimes he is allowed to take them off the shelf. He fondles them and cuddles them. He brings them to school. He fantasies about them. What hard, cold playthings for a warm-hearted little boy! Besides his playthings showing a certain neglect, his physical appearance also has indicated that he was left pretty much to himself except perhaps on Sundays and every now and then when he would be polished for school. He has seldom been provided at home with a handkerchief or Kleenex even when his nose was running constantly. The other children in the family look cleaner than Pressley. Also the family's procrastination in undertaking to do anything to make him better physically has indicated neglect.

2. It is apparent that Pressley's little sister has the place in her family's heart as "pet." It is hard to see just what Pressley's place is, except that of a little in-between child.

3. It is also apparent that the family are unaware of Pressley's needs as a person. This has been indicated under (1) the ways in which the family neglect him, and also under (2) when it was pointed out that Pressley's little sister is the family pet. The family does not see his great need for love as expressed in physical affection, in an underlying tone of relationship with him, in being sensitive to his needs and fundamental desires.

4. At home, as I have tried to state, I found Pressley to be a neglected child who surely experienced a lack of security. His fantasies as seen in the anecdotal record are all an inflation of himself or something connected with himself and when seen in the light of the knowledge about his home life and of his daily behavior are an expression of his feeling of insecurity.

Here are two typical samples of Pressley's fantasy wherein one may see his inflation of himself in something related to him. On November 7 when he saw a turkey buzzard fly over the schoolyard, he said, "There goes my pet pigeon. I have pigeons and almost all the kinds of animals there are." On November 8 while reading to the children the "Run-Away Engine," Pressley interrupted to say that just the same things had happened to his grandfather when he drove an engine. Even when the runaway engine jumped the drawbridge and the coal car fell into the barge below, that same thing had happened to his grandfather, too. As stated before, all Pressley's expressed fantasies were of this type, always something in relation to himself happening on a grand and impossible scale.

Here are a few samples of his daily behavior as recorded in the anecdotal record which I interpreted as showing a lack of early feelings of security in the home situation; for instance, on January 12 he tripped on some blocks, fell, and got up hanging his head; the time he left the game of drop-the-handkerchief when we chose another child's handkerchief instead of the one which Pressley had offered for us to use. Or take again his continued repetition when it was time to write, "I can't write," and his frequent expression of desire for contact with the teacher.

In school it has thus become apparent that Pressley has very little self-confidence. This is shown in so many ways, in being afraid to attack new materials, in his lack of aggressiveness with other children, and somewhat in his bearing and facial expression. It will be noted in reading over the anecdotal record of Pressley that so often he brings to school some little thing and carries it around with him all day, such as a little piece of string, or rope, or a metal bolt, or some church envelopes. Could it be that these are an indication of his lack of confidence and security, that these little things he has in his hand which he can adapt to some bit of fantasy in play, give him a feeling of being a little more an important person?

The anecdotal record also indicates that Pressley perhaps gains some feeling of confidence by attaching himself to the strongest children in the group. However, lately he has become interested in playing with a girl across the street who is in his grade at school. He shows little interest in her during school time. But recently they have been together a great deal after school. Her interests are somewhat similar to his. In school the other children do not seek out Pressley, except occasionally, but appear to enjoy him when he is with them.

Pressley seems to know how other people feel. He is sorry when another child is reprimanded. He will slide over by him or put his

arm around him and give the teacher reproachful looks. He is glad when another child is approved and will join in with his approval and smile. He is sorry when someone is hurt. He shows his sympathy in his face, or in some "kind word," or in doing something for the hurt child. Sometimes Pressley seems a little removed in spirit from the other children, as though he were watching the situation rather than taking part in it.

5. In observing Pressley during the year both at school and at home, it has been found that his greatest interest is in animals. So much of his fantasy has been about animals. The stories he likes best to hear are about animals. The many pictures he makes are about animals. When passing by Pressley's home, it has so often been noticed that he is by the little pen near his house where the neighbor's mother dog and puppies are kept. Often he is just watching them. Sometimes he is trying to get his hand through the wires to play with or pet them. Pressley knows just what animals each person in the neighborhood owns, and what their characteristics and habits are. He assumes an attitude of authority when talking about them.

Thus it is seen that Pressley's fantasies and behavior at school as well as observations made at his home bear out the theory that he is suffering from the fundamental lack of love and understanding at home. This lack is producing a feeling of insecurity in the child which shows in his behavior and in his fantasies. Doubtless he feels half-consciously that a pet would return his love, for he wants to love as well as be loved.

While it was reiterated . . . in our class discussion of other case studies that the home is one place for readjusting situations that are affecting the child adversely, not much was accomplished there except to try to get the parents to provide better physical care for Pressley. In our group discussions we so often spoke of how the school must compensate for deficiencies at home. So in school an attempt was made to help Pressley to feel that he was appreciated and important in the group. All readings I did emphasized this necessity for any child, but it seemed to be acutely needed by Pressley.

In school, too, opportunities were given Pressley for much creative expression in dramatic play, singing, rhythms, painting, and story-making. The psychologist brought out that fantasy is art, and that art forms a valuable source of outlet, particularly for a child given to excessive daydreaming. Realizing his lack of widening experiences either in stories or reality, an effort was made to give Pressley much story material at his own age level and also real experiences that were important to him. It is apparent from reading the anecdotal

record that the trips Pressley had gave him something new about which to think and feel.

Through observing Pressley at school and at home, and through getting to know his home environment better, the following have come to be seen as his greatest needs:

More love and understanding at home

Removal of his tonsils and adenoids and consistently good physical care at home

Vital school experiences

Atmosphere and experience of security at school

On the basis of this study the teacher formulated two sets of recommendations for herself to carry out:

1. Continue close contact with the home. Get mother and father interested in PTA. Initiate a child-study group for parents, interesting Pressley's parents in coming. Help get his brother or his father interested in helping him to learn to use tools better.

2. Continue vital school experiences and close, though not sentimental, pupil-teacher relationship.

In conclusion the teacher summarized the results so far obtained with Pressley:

The following changes have been noticed in Pressley during the years. Some of these are in Pressley himself and some are in his environment. . . . Pressley has shown since the early part of the spring far less tendency to the type of fantasy indicated in the anecdotal record. Yet he is just as imaginative, as his pictures, and conscious play making, and dramatic play indicate. But his general conversation is more apt to be about something that has really happened.

Pressley's nose is drying up since his visit to the doctor this winter, when he was given nose drops, and since he has taken cod liver oil and had more rest. There is the prospect of removing his adenoids and tonsils this summer. Pressley now has a workbench on his back porch and he makes things for his little sister. He seems very proud of himself when he does this. Pressley, while still admiring some of the strong children, has ceased to imitate them. This might indicate a growing inner strength in Pressley.

This spring Pressley's mother has shown an interest in the first-grade garden which is near her house. She has lent tools for us to use in it and has come over several times when we were working in it. She made some good suggestions. She seemed a little bit amused by it too. When she laughs and smiles at Pressley over something like

this, it seems that there is a basis for a real understanding between her and her son.

The above report is somewhat better than the statements prepared by many others in the study group, yet it is by no means unique in the amount of progress shown toward understanding the child being studied. It illustrates very well how the anecdotal study of a particular child serves to bring into focus the many ideas gained from reading, lectures, and group discussion. It also shows how the various activities in which all the teachers engaged contributed to their appreciation of the individual child.

Interestingly enough, the discussion of Pressley and his "fairy tales" and the subsequent study of fantasy in children sensitized the teachers in this group to new possibilities of understanding children through their aesthetic creations. The same end was achieved in another group when one of the teachers presented the case of Betty from Blos' book, *The Adolescent Personality*.⁹ This case shows how Betty's literary productions revealed her emotional turmoil and longings. The report was followed by a good deal of discussion of how children's drawings, paintings, poems, stories, and dramatic play give leads to their emotional preoccupations. These creative activities of children have taken on a good deal of new meaning for the teachers as a result.

SUMMARY

In this chapter we have wanted to show how the teachers in the child-study group discovered their need for scientific facts and explanatory principles in order to interpret the anecdotal records they were accumulating about individual children. The reading of these records before the study groups and the ensuing discussions usually led to the appearance of several equally plausible explanations for a child's behavior, or else to the recognition that nobody present could give a convincing interpretation of the case. In either situation the group usually turned to books or to consultants for expositions of principles

⁹ Peter Blos, *The Adolescent Personality* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1941).

that would help them. Nearly all of the reading done during the first year of the study grew out of this kind of immediate motive; but later, when the necessity for knowing interpretive principles had been felt by everybody, many of the teachers read a considerable number of the books available in the library. The focus on living children with whom the teachers had almost daily contact at school kept interest at a high level and gave the opportunity for an immediate use of all principles learned. Incidentally, the school administration had set aside a substantial sum of money for books needed by the child-study group, with the thought that the professional library of the school district would be considerably improved by these additions.

We included the comprehensive report of a teacher's study of Pressley in order to show how group discussion of anecdotes, extensive reading, and a consultant's presentation all contributed to stimulating the teacher concerned to undertake a full analysis of this boy's situation, and to helping her to construct a working hypothesis of how to help him. All of these activities helped her to see that there were causes behind Pressley's tendencies to fantasy, and motivated her to ferret out these causes and validate her findings.

One of the most intriguing features of the child-study program, for local leaders and consultants alike, has been the gradual change of teachers' attitudes toward "theoretical" materials. Initially many members of the study groups were quite wary of getting involved in any activities that were not strictly "practical." Perhaps some of them were even a little complacent about their ability to understand children on the basis of common sense alone. If so, this complacency rapidly disappeared when they tried to interpret their records to the study group. Needed support was then provided through talks by the consultant and through apt suggestions for reading by the leader. So it gradually came about that many of these teachers recognized that they could profitably go on developing their insight into children for years, by combining the careful observation of individual youngsters with the search for known facts and principles that would explain the observed behavior.

VI

Group Meetings as a Study Method

WE HAVE REFERRED somewhat casually in the preceding chapters to the group discussions that were so important a part of the study procedure. It is time to describe these meetings more in detail, especially since they were not all alike. In this chapter we propose to show how relatively small groups of persons from neighboring schools met to analyze and interpret the facts gathered by a teacher about some child, to contribute significant additional information about that child, to pool their individual knowledge of the principles that explain human development and behavior, and to arrive at a group interpretation of the child's motivation and needs. After a brief analysis of the general procedure and of its value, we shall illustrate how these group processes operated in the study of two boys.

THE GENERAL PROCEDURE

Members of these small child-study groups came from neighboring schools and they met together regularly. Most of them were actively engaged in the project and were themselves making studies of individual children. The procedure followed in most of their "case conference" meetings took the following pattern. A particular teacher presented information about a child whom she was studying intensively. Then other teachers who had taught him in earlier grades or who knew something about him and his family, through work with his brothers and sisters or otherwise, contributed additional facts. General discussion of the child by all teachers present then took place. The aim was to sharpen everyone's skill in organizing and interpret-

ing data to the point where a reasonably valid analysis of the subject's motives, aspirations, and needs could be made. At the close of the discussion, or after the meeting, each member of the group often wrote answers to questions like the following: What meaning do you now see in the child's present behavior? What further information would you like to have about this child before reaching any real decision about him?

Three significant aspects of a child's life usually were explored in these group meetings, namely, his present activities at school, his earlier experiences at school, and his present and past home life. The teacher currently studying the child intensively always dealt with the first of these. She presented to the group the anecdotal material she had accumulated about him. Sometimes these records covered a period of six months or more, sometimes only a period of six or eight weeks. In any event, they sufficed to give the group much concrete information about what the child did in the classroom and on the playground, vivid pictures of his interaction with other children and the teachers, and a knowledge of his interests, skills, and scholastic accomplishment.

The youngster's earlier experience at school, which gradually took on more and more importance, was harder to explore. The cumulative records proved inadequate to give any concrete picture of his development and experiences, as has been shown in earlier chapters. So the group turned to the child's former teachers and asked them to recall as much as they could of how he had behaved and learned, and of how they had dealt with him in previous years. They usually were very much interested and sometimes even observed him again—on the playground, in the hall, or even in his new classroom—in order to stimulate their recollections.

The third area of information dealt with the child's home life and family relationships, and here both his present teacher and other members of the group made significant contributions. Usually the teacher who presented the anecdotal record also supplied most of the information about the family's current situation, pattern of living, and interpersonal relationships. But

often other members of the group were teaching a brother or a sister and could contribute significant additional information, and almost always the child's former teachers had vital knowledge of earlier family events and relationships. Thus the array of significant facts about the child in his family was greatly increased by the pooling of information.

There were several variations in the pattern followed by the group meetings. Sometimes the anecdotal material and family history were merely presented orally. But on other occasions they were mimeographed and circulated to members of the group in advance of the meeting. If this was done, sufficient time was allowed for the teachers to study this material and develop explanatory hypotheses of their own which would be presented and discussed at the meeting. In an earlier chapter we have already described a third variant of this procedure, in which the psychologist's analysis of a teacher's anecdotal records became the basis for discussion.

THE VALUE OF GROUP MEETINGS

Certain values that accrue from these group meetings are quite obvious. For example, the pooling of information about a child actually supplies a broader base for judging his motivation and needs and permits initial hypotheses to be checked against additional facts. This is an excellent way of demonstrating that information must have a certain scope before it can become the basis for sound judgment. It also demonstrates individual differences among teachers, for different teachers have noticed different things about the child and show their various sensitivities by the variety of information they are able to supply. This leads the members of the group to value the observations of others and to look to colleagues for significant facts to supplement what they themselves are learning.

An almost parallel set of advantages is found in the group interpretation of the child's behavior and needs. One teacher knows and recalls an explanatory principle that the other teachers do not know or remember. By pooling the facts and generalizations that are known to all members of the group a

more adequate body of scientific knowledge becomes available for the use of every member. Facts and principles that are new to individual teachers may be learned through such experiences. Furthermore, individuals will notice the tendency in themselves to lean heavily upon certain principles to explain behavior or development while others are seen to appeal more often to different generalizations. In this way all members of the group are trained to recognize the fact that a broad framework of scientific principles is necessary to the sound understanding of a child, that the first explanation that pops into the mind may not be the correct one, and that there is danger of oversimplifying the interpretation of a child's behavior.

The pooling of information about a child's life in his family proved to have particular value to the study groups. Through it the teachers were helped to understand the significance of the first years of a child's life in establishing feelings of security, belonging, and personal worth. It aided them in seeing that all children had to accomplish certain learnings in infancy and early childhood, and they began to sense that the manner in which these first tasks were accomplished has a profound influence on the child's image of himself and on his attitudes toward other persons. They were helped to appreciate somewhat the problems involved in learning to regulate hunger, in accepting weaning, in learning to control the bladder and colon, in learning some of the rules about the inviolability of persons and things, and in learning to behave as little boys or as little girls are supposed to behave in our society. The pooling of information and of interpretive principles helped these teachers to see that all children had faced these common learning tasks in the home and that no two children had accomplished them in quite the same way. So the teachers in each group came more and more to seek knowledge about the child's preschool experiences and home relationships as well as to set great store by their present contacts with members of the child's family.

A number of subsidiary values also were realized through these group meetings. Useful suggestions about aspects of the child's life that needed further investigation or observation fre-

quently were made. For example, a teacher might have failed to observe and record how the youngster got along with his brothers and sisters, or how rapidly he was growing. Yet these facts could, in some instances, provide the essential clues to a valid understanding of his motivation or needs. Another subsidiary value came through the suggestions made by colleagues as to ways of dealing with the child being studied. Few of the teachers could be content just to study and "understand" their pupils. Most of them properly wanted to help children grow up happily and welcomed the constructive suggestions of other members of the group. Sometimes it was almost a problem to keep the teachers working at their analysis of the child's motivation and needs, so anxious were they to proceed at once to discuss how he could be helped.

Another common value accruing from the group meetings was the tendency of the teachers constantly to re-examine their own attitudes toward children as well as their techniques for dealing with them. Again, the teachers often disagreed with each other very strongly in their interpretations—and sometimes even about the facts involved. These conflicts frequently brought them face to face with some of the crucial issues faced by parents and educators alike in helping children grow up. Such conflicting judgments sometimes made individuals uncertain whether one of their own attitudes was really a "principle governing wholesome development" or merely a "middle-class folk prejudice." But they also brought a new recognition of the importance of concrete factual information when making a decision about how to deal with a particular child.

THE CASE OF NICHOLAS

The study of Nicholas illustrates how teachers pooled their information about a child and formulated hypotheses about the meaning of these facts on the basis of their combined knowledge of the principles of human development and behavior. The group that considered his case was made up of teachers from two neighboring schools who met together regularly. Present in the group were all of the teachers who had taught Nicholas

from the first grade through the sixth. Other teachers were there who expected to have him later. Still others had taught his brother much earlier and quite a few knew something of him from casual encounters around school. Some of course did not know him at all. Nicholas's teacher had moved up with his class and was teaching it for the second year. The material that follows is reproduced just as the teacher presented it to the group.

Background statement

Nicholas is thirteen years old and in the sixth grade. I became interested in him last year when I taught him in the fifth grade. Three things about him concerned me very much. One thing was that no matter what he did, when asked about it, he denied it. Another was that he entered no organized play with the group. The third thing was that often two or more boys would gang up on him to beat him up on the way from school and he apparently could do nothing about it.

I talked with Nicholas a number of times about admitting things that he did. I also talked with him about defending himself. I told him that he was larger than either one of the boys who bothered him and to tell them that he would defend himself if they would come one at a time. I think he did do this. Mercer and Louis were the usual ones involved. As I remember it he continued play with Edens and Michael almost altogether. I expressed their way of playing as "kittenish"—like young kittens—rolling and tumbling each other.

Nicholas is in the sixth grade now—a large, well developed, boy—rather nice looking and clean looking, thirteen years old. He has a very slight trace of an impediment in speech. I have noticed a definite change in him in several ways. First, he plays in the ball games. However, he likes to help the janitor at recess. I insist that he needs the outdoor exercise and I have told him that I want him on the playground. Another thing I have noticed is that he doesn't seem to hesitate now to admit that he has done a certain thing. He has had some trouble with Mercer in the class this year, but I don't recall any instance where more than one has ganged up on him as they did last year. He doesn't have much trouble with the tool subjects. He does have to work on spelling or else he doesn't get it.

Nicholas's father and mother are separated. The father is married again and lives in a nearby community. Nicholas has one brother who is about nine years older than he. The mother and boys live with the grandmother and aunt. When I first knew Nicholas this aunt was the sole support of the family. She turned her salary over

to the grandmother for her to use for the benefit of all. About a year ago Abram (the brother) got a job in a store. Soon after he started to work and things looked brighter, the aunt became sick. She is still (February) not able to work. This leaves Abram as the family support. He likewise turns his salary over to the grandmother for the family. She gives him a few dollars each week. With this he is buying a combination radio and victrola. He is almost twenty-two years old and his grandmother told me that he had never had a date with a girl. (She said that Nicholas said, sure thing he would be married before he is as old as Abram.) Abram has gained weight and looks better than last year. Abram was turned down for the Army in January. Recently, on a visit to the house, the grandmother said she wouldn't swap Abram even for one of her own children. Proudly told me that she had cared for Abram during infancy and he had only slept with his mother one night. While I was there Nicholas came in for his gloves, said he was going to help one of the neighbors cut wood. Then the grandmother said that Nicholas would rather work for someone else than at home.

The grandmother told me that Nicholas's mother had only lived with his father seven months in all. She lived with him four months when they were first married. Then when she was not able to work and support herself, he left her—said he wouldn't live with any woman who couldn't support herself. All the time Nicholas's mother was living with her husband the grandmother bought and gave her her clothes just as she did the other daughter at home. Then when the first child was about eight years old, Nicholas's father came back and, with promises of all that he could do for the boy, the mother went back to him. She had even to pay off a personal debt for him immediately. After three months together and with Nicholas on the way, he left her. The father recently sent for the boys to come to see him. They went. He has never done one thing for them. However, either the mother or grandmother told me that Nicholas loves his father.

Ever since I have known Nicholas's mother she has been sick. Always under the doctor's care with a serious trouble. She has a very definite speech impediment. All fall she and Nicholas cared for a small child while the child's mother worked, for which they were paid a small sum per week. Now they don't have this job as the people have employed a full-time servant to keep house and care for the child.

Last year each time I visited the home it happened that I was entertained on the porch. Recently when I called I was entertained in the home. I was agreeably surprised. The bedroom-livingroom

was nicely enough furnished and clean and neat. The mother, aunt, and all were clean and neat. The aunt hardly spoke a word. The grandmother did most of the talking. She remarked that she surely hated that her pastor was leaving. Said he came to see her every week. Nicholas goes to Sunday school. So far this is the only outside contact of Nicholas's that I know about. One afternoon when I was talking to him and trying to find what adults influence him, I asked what grown person he liked best. He said he expected it was I. Mother is anxious for Nicholas to be a "good" boy in school and to do his work. She helps him at home with his spelling. She always comes to PTA if possible.

On our friendship test in October Nicholas liked two boys, Lucius and Louis. He was rejected by nine boys and eleven girls. Soon after this Nicholas insisted that he wanted to sit at the table with Joseph and has been there since, leaving the table where Louis was. Now (February) after asking twice for Louis to sit at his table, I told him he could. Nicholas was thrilled. Yet on our friendship test (February) he did not vote Louis as a friend; voted on three new ones—Clint, Jake, and Arna. He was rejected by seven boys and five girls. The group, especially the boys, voted fewer rejections on this test. Joseph's time seems to be taken up almost entirely by Edens, who sits next him at the table with Nicholas. Guess this may be the reason that Nicholas wanted Louis to come to his table.

Last year in September (fifth grade) Nicholas was sixty inches tall and weighed ninety-eight pounds. In May he was sixty-three and a half inches tall and weighed 115 pounds. He was twelve years old at this time. Two years before then when he was ten years old, he grew two inches from May to September. He is now (February, sixth grade) sixty-six and a half inches tall and weighs 120 pounds, so that in the last seventeen months he has grown six and a half inches and gained twenty-two pounds.

With this general information about Nicholas and his family life as a background, I shall present the anecdotal records I have made about him since the first of January this year.

Anecdotal record

January 8: Instead of working during activity, was just talking; admitted he was and then later sat daydreaming.

January 12: Hoke said, "Nicholas is over here cussing." When I asked Nicholas about it, he said he was.

January 13: Nicholas went with other members of the class to see a play in the city hall. He enjoyed it very much. It was the first play he had ever been to. His mother had asked me all about the play

the night before at PTA. Said Nicholas wanted to go but that her mother didn't think he should as Abram doesn't approve of shows and it would be his money that would send him. I told the mother that I could understand that, but that it would be a good play and I thought it would be nice if Nicholas could go.

January 15: Went for a long walk today. Nicholas chose Edens as his partner and they seemed to have a good time together and led the way. My guess is Edens may have a desirable influence on Nicholas.

January 25: Proudly told me today that he has a job going for goat milk five times a week for fifty cents. Nicholas worked on a map today with Jules and Louis. Louis and Jules soon quit and had to be started back. During the last period of the day while I was helping a small group with reading, I looked up and saw Nicholas and Mercer hitting each other. I didn't stop the group but told Nicholas and Mercer I would talk with them after school. In a short time someone said, "Teacher, you should see Mercer's arm where Nicholas stuck him." I looked at his arm and then took him to the doctor's office and dressed it. Nicholas had stuck his pencil point through Mercer's coat, shirt, and undershirt, and then into the arm. After school we talked it over and the best I could get of the incident was as follows: Mercer had been leaning on Nicholas and Nicholas hit him and then Mercer hit, etc., until Nicholas stuck his pencil into Mercer's arm. Then I sent Mercer home and kept Nicholas and tried to help him see the danger of lack of self-control. The next morning I found out that Mercer had waylaid Nicholas on the way home and rocked him.

January 26: Still working on map. Told me about breaking his watchband and fixing it back. Said his aunt told him not to tell his grandmother. I asked him why he didn't want to tell her. He said she might whip him or get him. I then asked if his grandmother whipped him and he said not now but that she might think he had been fighting or something. Has his grandmother forbidden him to fight all these years? Is this the reason he seemed not to be able to take care of himself?

January 28: Gave Nicholas a coat today. He seemed pleased and said he would keep it for Sunday.

January 29: Told me today how proud his mother was of the coat. Said he had some pants that he thought would go very well with it. I told him that when spring comes he might want some light blue pants to wear with it. Said he had a dollar and would save so he could buy some. Also said he might quit buying lunch and buy war stamps. (I had talked to them yesterday about buying war

stamps.) I told him that I felt that he needed his lunch and to use any other money he had to buy stamps. Sent him to the post office to mail a letter for the class. Helped the janitor during recess today. I didn't miss him on the playground as we were out only a short time due to the wet ground. Nicholas came in twenty minutes late. I told him not to help the janitor without telling me.

February 1: On the playground today I found Nicholas missing. He helped the janitor again. When I asked him about it he said he forgot. Kept him after school to talk about it. Sometimes the janitor has given him things to help him. Is this the reason Nicholas wants to use his play period this way? Or is it that he feels that he doesn't really belong to the team? I find that I always talk Nicholas's misdeed over with him and do little else. Is this the best procedure or what should I try? Sure enough Nicholas bought defense stamps today and no lunch. However, the cook gave him lunch (suppose he must have helped her in some way). She gave the principal a nickel for the lunch and told her Nicholas had paid her.

February 2: Nicholas came up during activity period and asked me what he could do—said he had nothing to do. I don't remember that I made any suggestions, but then in a little while he came up and said that he and Mercer wanted to mold some plaster to carve. I told him that they could make a mold in order to carve or they could make a mold for a plaque. They decided they would rather carve and went to work to make a mold. I have observed that Mercer and Louis seem to be the ones Nicholas is usually concerned with and yet he has never voted for Mercer as a friend or as a work companion. He did vote for Louis on the first membership test. Why is this? Are they friends?

When we returned from seeing moving pictures today, Mercer asked if he could go to see the doctor. When I asked why he wanted to see the nurse, he said that Nicholas had a knife opened on the table and he ran into it. (They were working together during activity period when picture-show time came.) When I asked how it happened all he would say was that he ran into it and couldn't help it. Said Nicholas did not push him or anything. The nurse said it was a pretty deep little cut. She said he had to undress partly for her to dress it. This is probably the reason he didn't say anything about it at first and then when it started hurting decided that he had better see about it. Hence his waiting until after the movie.

February 3: Nicholas and Mercer still working together on clay mold.

February 4: Came in and went straight to his work carving a plaster plaque. Nicholas, Jules, Bernie, and Joseph (all at same

table) had a good time pitching clay while I was out of room a little while. All told their part in the affair and then did a good job of cleaning up. During arithmetic period everyone had a good laugh—Nicholas's chair skidded out from under him and he seemed so surprised.

February 5: After school today looked out of window and saw Nicholas riding Louis home on his back. Louis is just as small for his age as Nicholas is large.

February 8: Nicholas asked again today for Louis to sit at his table. I don't want to encourage constant changing and I had already allowed Nicholas to sit at the table with Joseph as he asked. But I told him Louis could move to his table and he seemed so pleased. I still wonder why Nicholas did not vote Louis as one of his friends and Louis did not vote for him.

February 9: Nicholas got along nicely with his plaque so asked today to help Maxcy and Louis mold some. Cursed on playground and was brought off the field for rest of period. I kept Louis in after school to finish some work he failed to do during the day. After I came back into the room from dismissing the class. Nicholas was sitting there also. I asked why he was there and he said he was waiting for Louis. Has Nicholas really improved since last year? Or am I so anxious to help him make a better social adjustment that I am really blind to the real facts? What further steps can I take?

February 12: Edens sits by Nicholas and is frequently fussing with him. I asked Edens today why he was so cross with Nicholas and Edens said that Nicholas makes ugly remarks to him. (I have had trouble with Edens making ugly remarks and drawing ugly pictures and showing them to the girls. Joseph also draws suggestive pictures.) This is the first complaint about Nicholas.

After Nicholas's teacher had presented these facts about the boy, others contributed what they knew of him. One member of the group served as secretary. The following record is not verbatim, but it presents a rather full report of what his former teachers had to say about him and a brief summary of the ensuing discussion.

Discussion of Nicholas

Nicholas' third-grade teacher began the discussion by recalling that when she knew the boy "his mother was sick and had to take shots of some kind, probably insulin." At that time Nicholas had had "an impediment in his speech"; he had told this

teacher that he had received a "itty doll for Christmas." Another member of the group remembered how the mother talked when she had come to school once to see about Nicholas; it had been difficult to understand her, and what she said turned out to be: "Nicholas you do sit down till teacher tell you to git up." At this point the group leader suggested that the boy's former behavior be presented in orderly sequence, starting with the first grade.

The boy's first teacher accordingly began the story. She said Nicholas had been "clean" when she knew him, but also "pale and looked undernourished." One day, while discussing foods that are "good for us," she had asked several children what they had had for breakfast; Nicholas had said, "Peanut butter and twackers." He had had a "definite speech impediment" in those days. This teacher had thought Nicholas "a very annoying child" because he was "restless, too talkative," "wanted attention," and "talked at the wrong time." Many if not most of the pictures he had painted had been about a "tall, gangling man with hat on and cigar in mouth, usually outlined in black." One of these drawings had been selected for an exhibit of school art "as being one of the best" from this room; when the teacher had "voiced amazement" she was told that the picture showed talent for "caricature." Nicholas had shown some fears about going home; he had seemed to think that other children would fight him, and sometimes this had happened. His mother or grandmother often came to see about him.

The second-grade teacher also remembered the boy's speech difficulty and confirmed much of the first teacher's testimony. The mother and grandmother often "came to see about him" and to "make sure he got safely home"; the boy "would not take up for himself with other children" and "let them fight him." But she did not remember Nicholas as a very talkative child; he had not talked as much as others in the group.

The teacher who had had the boy in the third grade reiterated her remark about his impediment and added that he had also shown "great lack of cleanliness" and had had "a bad odor"; the family's economic position at the time had been "low" and

Nicholas "did not have much to wear." The mother had attended PTA regularly and still "came to see about" the boy; she had seemed to love him but described him as "bad." Nicholas had "wanted attention and affection" at this stage; he often wanted to sit by the teacher and was very playful in the group. At the same time he was definitely restless and talkative and often annoyed the others. It was in the course of this year that he had asked his teacher and classmates to call him Nicholas instead of Forest, as he had been called; everybody had complied with his request. But the "children did not seem to like" the boy and the teacher now thought she could identify some of the factors to account for this: the "social status of his family," the boy's "speech defects," his "personal appearance," his tendency of "annoying others to gain the attention" he was craving, his "apparent dullness," and her own "lack of understanding." This teacher said she had not had much patience with the youngster.

The fourth-grade teacher followed in very similar vein. She said Nicholas had done many things to attract attention and had been "most annoying" to her; she then had this to say:

I frankly admit I would like another chance with Nicholas. I did not treat him right. We know more now than we did then; at that time I did not understand that Nicholas's behavior was a symptom of his need for affection. Then, everything he did rubbed me the wrong way. He was constantly getting quite close to another child and talking in his ear; he appeared to jabber. He often looked up with an expression which indicated that he was expecting to be corrected. He had a voice that carried across the room. He would jump up and run to sharpen a pencil just as some work was beginning. Even his very movements annoyed me; he walked with his right shoulder lifted and shuffled sideways with head lowered. He was never a mean child—only had annoying habits.

She also said that Nicholas had had a close friendship with Mercer at that time, and described this child as coming from the same socio-economic level but although the two "were buddies they constantly picked on each other." The mother had always stopped to talk to her after PTA meetings and wanted to know how Nicholas was doing. Even though he had been a big boy then, he had still been afraid to go home after school.

This teacher closed by repeating that she had changed her mind "since we have been studying children," and was now "ashamed of the way" she had treated Nicholas.

The third-grade teacher threw in the observation that Nicholas and Mercer had seemed to be friends when they were in her room, adding that she, too, had noted that they enjoyed "picking at one another." Nicholas's current teacher then carried on the story since she had had him in the fifth grade as well. She said the relation between the two boys had been unchanged the previous year, and then went on to repeat what she had said about the boy's improvement during the time of the study. He could "play better with children" and also seemed more "able to take care of himself"; his teacher had "encouraged him to take up for himself" when the others started a fight. He had claimed certain youngsters as his best friends yet often disagreed with them; some of these children had in turn chosen him as a friend. She added that Nicholas had "not participated in the prevalent sex experiments" going on in her room. The group leader warned against drawing conclusions too quickly on this point, since Nicholas might be experimenting in his own way rather than "adding sketches to magazine pictures and making other drawings."

After the chronological account was finished, the third-grade teacher observed that perhaps Nicholas fitted better into his present group than the one with which he had started; the boy had repeated the third grade and so was now with a different set of youngsters. The seventh-grade teacher, who was then teaching Nicholas's original companions, agreed to this and pointed out that since many of them were from a higher socio-economic level, they would tend to reject the boy more easily than his present classmates. Two members of the study group commented on the apparent improvement in Nicholas's physical condition, and when the leader again warned against reaching conclusions too easily quite a discussion ensued over the adequacy of routine examinations. In answer to a question about plotting the boy's growth, his teacher said she hadn't done that yet, but his "growth spurt" had been rapid; she thought he had

"about attained his full height" and estimated his energy output as "high."

When the leader asked Nicholas's teacher how she accounted for the changes she had reported, she said she had "talked to him many times" and that he had "from the first appealed" to her sympathy because he seemed "to be the underdog." Several members of the group, including the leader, emphasized how important they thought this attitude had been in the situation. The discussion then centered on the grandmother and how she had come to be "such a dominant factor." The boy's teacher said it was her impression that the family "had seen more prosperous times" in the past; she had found out furthermore that the grandmother "resented" her daughter's marriage and "did not like it" when the latter "took up with her husband" the second time. She had "resented the baby when he came"; besides, the mother had been "sick for years" and had "no say-so about anything." It was suggested that further investigation into family relations would be desirable, especially with a view to finding out "how the grandmother feels about Nicholas now."

Factors mentioned as having possibly been significant in bringing about the change in Nicholas included the greater interest his current teacher had shown in the boy, his better physical condition, the fact that he was more interested in his personal appearance and was generally happier, the help that had been given him on "knowing how to play with others," and the circumstance that he had earned a "small amount of money" and might be feeling "more independent." The suggestions for further study included, besides the emphasis on family relations already mentioned, discovering the boy's real playmates and how he spent his leisure time, checking on his daydreams, and finding out about his training in infancy. It was by then time for adjournment.

The hypotheses of selected teachers

Before the group broke up after the above discussion, the leader had suggested that everybody try to write out brief answers to three questions: What has Nicholas been striving for

all these years? What factors in his past experience seem to account for his behavior? And, what more do we want to know about him? Each person who had been present followed out this suggestion. We have chosen five of the resulting statements for reproduction here; in each of them some new slant on Nicholas is presented, though of course certain points are made in all of them. We quote in full.

1. What has Nicholas sought? I think that he sought security. His home surroundings were not the best. He was dependent on relatives, not his parents, and he got very few of the things that would promote happiness in a child. He also wanted to be noticed by his group and to be popular; therefore he tried to attract attention in different ways. I happened to know his family when Nicholas was born; I was teaching Abram then. His birth and the death of his grandfather came in the same week, I think. The grandmother was burdened with heavy nursing, crushed with sorrow, and had very little money to meet the needs of the family. No wonder the new baby was an unwelcome guest.

2. After hearing the interesting discussion concerning Nicholas, I feel that during all of these years he has been seeking love and affection from those who come in contact with him. More than likely, at home he has always felt as if he were not wanted since his grandmother showed her love for Abram so openly, as has been brought out in the discussion. Because of their low income, he has not had the advantages of others, and he is quite conscious of this. Probably he has been feeling that the whole world is against him since he has not been treated as an equal with his brother. If his family at home treated him thus, then how could he expect others to do more?

The lack of father love has probably had a great influence on his early life. He didn't receive enough love from the others to make up for this. It would help to know more about Nicholas's father. What kind of person was he? From what kind of family did he come? As to Nicholas's outside-of-school life—with whom does he play? What kind of work does he do to earn his spending money? Actually just how is he treated at home? What is his attitude toward those with whom he lives and on whom he is dependent? In what is he especially interested, in school as well as outside? Encouragement along these lines would help him in many ways. Without love and affection and encouragement from the people who are nearest to you, life seems hard and the whole world seems against you.

3. Nicholas seems to want the attention of the children and the

teacher. He does many things to get them to notice him and often picks at those within his reach. Does he realize that his position in the group is not secure? He doesn't seem to have many real friends: would he like to have more friends in that group? What is his position in the home? Has his grandmother always resented his being in the family? There seems to be a close tie between the older brother and the grandmother. The grandmother seems to manage the home. The mother is not strong physically or mentally—she gives in to the grandmother. Is the tie between his mother and Nicholas stronger than the tie between her and the older brother? What has Nicolas been told about his father? Does the mother overprotect Nicholas? Does Nicholas realize that he doesn't speak distinctly? Why doesn't he join in more of the games with the children? What things does he enjoy doing? What is his attitude toward the girls in his group? Why does he seem to have an "uncertain" manner?

4. In thinking over the case history of Nicholas as given by his teacher last Thursday afternoon, it seems to me that she needs more of a diary account of the child—more of the day-by-day incidents that would build up a picture of the child. I would like to know something of his conversation, his ability to do things, etc., in other words, a more related picture than the one she gave. She has very good concepts of the home and family.

From the history as given, I should say that what Nicholas has striven for all these years is a sense of security. Evidently he was not a wanted child and the grandmother has made a favorite of the elder brother, while the mother was more or less indifferent to Nicholas. His behavior has grown out of this feeling of insecurity most probably; the picking on other children and annoying teachers was his reaction to a feeling of neglect. Some things affecting him are: desertion of father and being reared in a houseful of women, physical handicap (speech), partiality of grandmother to elder brother, more or less indifference on mother's part, lack of interest on part of teachers, dislike of children, poverty with accompanying lack of proper food and clothing—the latter could be a partial explanation for offensive body odors—and the mother's illness and physical handicap (repeated in child).

5. Perhaps Nicholas has been striving for security, recognition, assurance, love, and affection that he evidently lacks in the home. The fact that he seemingly was not wanted may affect him or may have caused him to receive treatment in earlier life that helped to make him what he is now. The absence of his father and the resentment of the dominating grandmother have no doubt played a part also.

Could it be that the insecurity of his mother, with whom he is apparently more closely identified, has helped to make him more insecure? The fact that he was always taught never to defend himself, until recently, may have added to that insecurity. The broken home with continuing conflict was evidently bad for him. Perhaps it would help to know more about his infancy; was he born at home or in a hospital, who cared for him, how was he fed? What diseases has he had, or serious illnesses? When did he begin the growth spurt, if he is in it? Does he have a friend out of school? What does he do out of school? Has he shown evidence of emotional difficulties other than feeling of inferiority and self-consciousness? Does he have any great fears that he has not overcome?

In writing these statements the teachers had to rely either on their memories or such notes as each had jotted down. If the analyses are compared with the data presented at the meeting, the discovery is made at once that many or most of the writers have left a good deal out of their interpretations. On the other hand, the degree of integration of the material presented and the nature of the interpretations offered amply demonstrate that these teachers had taken large strides on the way to understanding children. It is also clear that the pooling of information about Nicholas added much to the knowledge his teacher originally had. It is even more apparent—and this is as significant as anything that happened—that the presentation stirred the feelings of the boy's former teachers and caused them to reassess their earlier judgments of him.

THE CASE OF MAXWELL

The group study of Maxwell illustrates a different procedure. In this instance, typed copies of the teacher's material on Maxwell were distributed to all members of the group well in advance of the meeting. Each one studied these records and formed hypotheses about Maxwell; they then came together to compare their individual interpretations. Maxwell was in the first grade, so there were no former teachers. He was an only child, so none of the other teachers had come in contact with his family. However, several had had some little acquaintance with Maxwell at school, and others volunteered to make some observations of

the boy's behavior so as to add to the available information and contribute different viewpoints to the discussion. The typed material that was distributed to the teachers in advance is reproduced below:

Personality characteristics

Maxwell is six years old, in the first grade, and an only child. On November 17, 1942, he weighed forty-one pounds and was forty-five and a half inches tall. Attractive child but does not smile often. Sweet smile when he does smile. Seems to be tongue-tied. His lips twitch quite often. He moves his shoulders up and down often, too, as though he is nervous. His mother told me he did that lots when he was young. She tried to stop him by telling him not to do that and by spanking him.

Maxwell seems to be fairly intelligent. He is learning to read but is slow in his work. Writes very well. He likes painting and singing best of all. Likes to paint airplanes. Pictures are not neat but have good stories sometimes. He often wants to sing a song by himself during singing time. I often find Maxwell singing during worktime or when I leave the room and return. He loves a ball and likes to have children chase him on playground and schoolroom. He picks on others by pinching them, pulling their hair, slapping them. He seems to like to do those things. Maxwell was especially anxious about Christmas. He talked about Santa Claus two or three months before Christmas and still talks about Santa Claus now, a month later.

Maxwell seems to be quite satisfied and pleased when he is the center of attraction. When he wants to tell something, he wants to tell it that minute. He doesn't like to wait. It doesn't matter to Maxwell if someone else is talking. Maxwell talks louder and louder when he begins to tell something. Maxwell is very proud of his father. He talks about what his father has made for him, what he has brought for him, where they went, etc. He often makes cigarettes with paper and says that's the way his daddy smokes. Maxwell's father made him a playhouse—a fine playhouse. He told us all about how his daddy made the playhouse. Maxwell recognizes his daddy as an authority for the decision between good and bad. He doesn't talk about his mother very much. He told me his daddy said if he would stay out of the rain and mud then he would not have the croup.

I get better results with Maxwell with rewards and pleasure premiums. He loves to have the class hear that he has done good work or that he cleaned up well. He forgets everything so easily, though, that we are often ready to go out to play before he has

cleaned his paint material. He finishes his cleaning work, then comes out to play. He likes to play so well that it seems he would remember about his clean-up work. I can also appeal to Maxwell about having friends. This appealing seems to last a short time, too. He wants to have friends, but if he wants something they have, he forgets that they will dislike him if he takes it and hits them. I talk with him and he is good for a while and has a good attitude, but it doesn't last long. His father and mother whip him when he gets bad—especially his mother. She says that she uses a strap, and that she won't wear out her hand on him. She said she used switches with him until they got scarce. When Maxwell gets in trouble at school he tells most of the time that somebody hit him and that he hit him back. After investigating, I find that he hits first. I have seen him numbers of times hit and kick others first. He likes friends, but he likes to fight them too. He wants praise and acceptance by the group, but he wants his way.

Basic attitudes and traits

When Maxwell is corrected or gets in trouble, he hangs his head. He doesn't do that quite as much now. I have asked him numbers of times to let me look at his face while we talked and that he could listen better if he looked at me.

Maxwell loved the pets that we had in school. He brought food and helped to care for them. When we have rhythms, which he likes very much, he plays that he is a rabbit. I believe he likes the rabbit best of the pets we had the first of school. We made a duck from oil-cloth and he loves that, too. He washes the duck, squeezes and kisses it. He loves to grab it from someone who is holding Donald Duck. At school, he says he likes to paint, sing, and play ball best of all. At home, Maxwell says he likes to ride his tricycle with Rosa and Clessie. They have skates and they all have grand times together. Rosa likes to "pet" Maxwell and "mother" him. Rosa is in the first grade, too. Clessie will start next year.

At home, Maxwell's mother says he and his daddy wash and dry the dishes. She says he loves it. He also brings in wood and coal. At school, Maxwell has the responsibility of cutting the towels in half for the next day. He forgot quite a number of times, then when clean-up time came next day we had no towels. We decided Maxwell needed to cut his towels after school for a while. This helped him some. He says he likes to work with others. He tells how he helps his daddy work. He told me he handed him the hammer and nails. His mother said Maxwell broke the radio while trying to play a joke on her. His father had to work a half-day fixing the radio. She

said she thought he would whip Maxwell, but he didn't. He got angry with Maxwell and that was worse.

Maxwell likes the girls better than the boys. He has quite a few friends in both sexes—even though he does treat them badly at times. He likes Rosa best of all. Rosa can just about get him to do and say anything she wants him to. She will call him "hon" and she understands his talk much better than the other children. She will help him with lots of words. Maxwell likes to play the role of a clown. He wants to entertain the group. He likes to stand on his head when I leave the room. Even though we take time for all those things in the room he wants extra attention too. He is never still. He wants approval from all the group. He doesn't like any correction from the group. He will take correction more from Rosa than anyone else in the group.

Maxwell says he likes school. He takes much interest in bringing surprises. Lots of them are useful, others are pieces of paper with his name. He always comments on the way his name is written. He often brings Bible pictures. He said he went to "Mr. T's church." I asked his mother about this and she said she guessed it was the church in which Mrs. T's funeral was held. His mother said they had not been to church very much, but were going to start. They had been members of the Christian church at Bascomville. Maxwell told me that his mother said she would whip him if he went back to Sunday school. Maxwell, Rosa, and I were talking one afternoon and he said he loved God, his mother and father, and Santa Claus best of all.

Maxwell seems to be tongue-tied. He pronounces his "l" as "y." His father said it was the Irish in him. He said he himself was twelve years old before anyone could understand a thing he said. Being with the other children has certainly helped Maxwell in his talk, ways, and everything.

The child in his home situation

Father works in garage as a mechanic. Mother worked during this past summer, but stopped because Maxwell started to school and she became sick. She is expecting a little brother or sister for Maxwell. While she worked, Maxwell spent the night with the lady next door. She said Maxwell wasn't getting the proper attention while she worked. Family has an apartment of three rooms. The father uses one room for tool and workroom. They have fairly nice furniture. Mother says they all enjoy the radio.

The family group is very close. Everything is centered about Maxwell. Their recreation all seems to be centered about the home.

While I was there this past time, Mr. E brought out a color book that he and Mrs. E had finished coloring. He said he would let Maxwell bring it to school for the "younguns to look at." Mr. E seems to enjoy making things about the house. They all sleep together in a double bed. Mrs. E said Maxwell kicked lots, but that she was afraid for him to sleep alone because he would kick all the covers off and catch cold.

There are no other adult members of the family besides the father and mother. The grandmother, Mr. E's mother, visits sometimes. She lives in Bascomville and is coming to stay with Maxwell when the new baby arrives. Mrs. E said she wanted to stay at home for the coming of the baby. She said she didn't like hospitals. Said she guessed she would do as the doctor asked—go to the hospital. The father is a tall, slim man and the mother is a short, stout lady. I didn't notice the appearance of her being pregnant until she called my attention to it. She said she wanted to visit the school soon before she became too embarrassed before the children. Mother is twenty-eight years old and the father twenty-nine. Mother dips snuff, father smokes.

She talked a good deal about visiting a neighbor. She said she liked her as well as anyone she had ever known. The neighbor has a little girl, Patricia, in first grade. Patricia and Maxwell are good friends too. The parents are interested in the school. They send anything we need. Maxwell brings lumber, nails, boxes, pictures, and all kinds of helpful material. Mrs. E said she was so glad to have the teacher visit her. Said when she went to school that the teachers didn't visit and weren't interested in her. Stated there was only one teacher who ever taught her anything. Mrs. E went only through the fourth grade—was promoted to fifth. Mr. E went to school but never learned to read. He only went to fourth grade. She said it was easy for him to catch on to things but that the teachers just couldn't teach him to read. Both parents said they regretted that they didn't go on to school long enough to get a good education. Said they would cooperate in every way with the school. Parents seem to think Maxwell is very bright. Mother said he is like his father in being bright. Maxwell is everything to them. Mrs. E said both parents were the happiest people she ever saw over the coming of Maxwell. She said Mr. E resented at first the coming of the next baby because he could never love another child as much as Maxwell. Doesn't seem to mind it so much now. Mother wants a girl—said Mr. E could have Maxwell and she would take the new baby for her own. She said Maxwell loved his daddy better than her anyway. Maxwell gets anything he wants from his parents. Mr.

E said Maxwell would always get anything he wanted if he could possibly get it for him. Mr. E goes to work at four o'clock and is off at twelve o'clock. Maxwell wants to sit up every night to wait for his daddy. Mother said that was reason he was late sometimes, because he sat up so late that he fell asleep waiting for his daddy. The next morning she had a worry of getting him up and eating breakfast.

Interpersonal relationships in school

Maxwell fits in with the group much better now in January than he did five months ago. He seems to be very happy with other children. His special friends are among the little girls—Rosa, Flossie, and Patricia. He says he likes to come to school to paint and sing. Even though Maxwell's behavior does puzzle me, he is an interesting child and very likeable.

Maxwell lived close to Patricia for a while and they became good friends before starting to school. Patricia is a large child for her age but does not try to be bossy toward Maxwell. Flossie is inclined to try to be a little bossy toward Maxwell. Maxwell likes Flossie but he doesn't always let Flossie boss him. He will listen to Rosa quicker than anyone else. She can understand what he says better than anyone else. All three of the girls are six years too. Rosa lives on the same street with Maxwell. I have noticed often that when Maxwell wants to say something that all the class stops and listens. Even though one can't understand all he says, they try. The class brags lots on Maxwell and his work and makes comments on his improvement.

Early childhood development

According to the mother, Maxwell was wanted very much. Mrs. E said they were very happy over his coming and made lots of plans on how they would take care of him, etc. Mrs. E said that even though she felt very bad that she would not have a doctor until absolutely necessary. She said her sisters-in-law frightened her about dying, etc., but when the time came, she was not at all frightened. She goes to a doctor now every three weeks for this coming baby. Maxwell was breastfed and was weaned between fourteen and sixteen months. She said he weaned himself on crackers. He liked crackers so much that he gradually learned to eat other things with them. He doesn't eat very much now though. She can hardly get him to eat much breakfast and he doesn't eat much in the lunchroom, but does like his milk though.

Mrs. E told how Maxwell learned to walk by himself. He walked all over the house holding on to the wall—then one day when they were visiting, Maxwell saw something he wanted on a table in the middle of the room and then is when he started walking. She said he never crawled very much and that he is very strong and would pull up all by himself. Mrs. E says that before Maxwell learned to walk that he was hardly ever out of her arms, and if and when he was, he cried all the time. Maxwell slept until late and Mrs. E did all her work while he slept; then Maxwell did not sleep during the day at all.

He has not had the children's diseases. She thought he had whooping cough at one time but guessed she was wrong. Maxwell has never been sick at all—except colds, and has lots of them. She said he never sucked his finger. She said that the grandmother and girls she had rooming with her spoiled Maxwell. They held him whenever he cried and the grandmother thought that there wasn't another such child in the world.

Mrs. E, along with the teacher, is wondering how Maxwell will take the new baby. She said Maxwell had wanted her to "get him a baby to take home" for a long time. She thought he would like the baby for a while, then he would be mean to the new member of the family. She said she didn't know how to explain to Maxwell about the new baby's arrival.

Anecdotes

January 6: Went to Maxwell's playhouse today. Class loved the playhouse. Maxwell's father had made him a nice large playhouse with windows, porch, and all. Maxwell ran to tell his mother we were coming. Mrs. E came out and talked with us while children played in the house. After we had been there a few minutes, Maxwell ran in the house and brought out a snuff box. He opened the box and took a dip or two of the snuff. His mother laughed at him. I was so surprised that I don't know what I said then.

January 15: Maxwell brought his new football to school today that he had gotten for Christmas. At first he didn't want anyone to play with him. He got tired of holding the football so he picked at others and ran all over the playground wanting them to chase him. He soon found that it didn't work and he was left alone again. I asked Maxwell to choose four or five playmates and go to another part of the playground to play. He liked this play very much.

January 25: Maxwell pouted lots today; whenever corrected he would hold his head down, stick out his lips, and pout. He might have felt ill. He has an awful cold.

February 4: Maxwell had class in uproar when I left the room and returned. He was crawling all over rug playing as though he were going to bite different ones. He was having a fine time. I asked him to sit instead of looking at pictures, painting, etc., during reading time. We played some songs later. Maxwell was the puppy; played "Three Little Puppies." I tried to explain to him that it would be better to wait and let's all play together while I was in the room so I could enjoy the song and games too.

Discussion of Maxwell

Maxwell's teacher began the discussion by saying she had had a message to send to a number of rooms that morning and had chosen Maxwell and Rosa to go for her. They had accepted the responsibility and gone off, but it appeared that Rosa had been the "aggressive one" while Maxwell had "hung back rather timidly"; one room he had refused to enter and "stood outside leaning against the wall." A fourth-grade teacher threw in the fact that she had seen Rosa "trying to pull Maxwell along" in the hall but that he had seemed not to want to go with her. Another member of the group thought that perhaps the boy was tired of so much visiting; she thought it might have been a mistake to send him to so many rooms at once and that he had been "overwhelmed."

A third-grade teacher was sure that Maxwell felt "comfortable in his own room"; she had gone in that morning to speak to his teacher and found the child busy having a good time; he had been reading a story while a number of other youngsters were grouped about listening; Maxwell had been "fairly bubbling over with interest." The boy's teacher said that when his mother recently visited the room Maxwell had gone to her and talked a great deal about what he was doing in painting, construction, writing, and the like.

At this point the other teacher of first grade contributed some additional information. She said that when school opened Maxwell had been enrolled with his present teacher, but that when it became necessary to make some changes to "balance the enrollment," Maxwell and three others had been transferred to her room. This was on the third day of school and the youngster had

shown very plainly that he did not like it. During the next few days he frequently would not come in after reaching school, but "hung around in the halls outside"; nor would he sit down in the room or come to the group gatherings in front; he wandered about during the period and would not talk. She said they had decided after a few days that Maxwell thought they "were trying to put something over on him" because he had started in one room and they had changed him to another. So they had decided to put him back in the first room, but for days after "when he and I chanced to meet in the hall," Maxwell had begun to cry and scream.

A second-grade teacher had a relevant episode to describe here. She said that once during that time when he was in the other room, she had found him "hanging from the stairway wall"; he had apparently climbed over and "was calmly hanging there." This teacher had tried not to show any excitement and had got two of the boys in her class to "pull him back over the rail" while she stood "below on the stairs hoping to catch him if he should fall."

The teacher of fifth grade wanted to know if Maxwell "always held his head on one side," and his own teacher said that he did. The sixth-grade teacher asked about the "cause of the speech defect" and whether a doctor had ever "made a check." Maxwell's teacher wasn't sure about that and repeated the father's remark about his own difficulty until he was twelve years old. The second-grade teacher was sure the trouble was "not baby talk"; she had visited the room just after school one day and both teachers had talked to the little boy in an effort to analyze the matter. He had always said "y" for "l," and she thought "some drill might help," such as "having him place his tongue against his teeth." The third-grade teacher thought perhaps his father felt "closer to him" because of having had the same difficulty with speech.

Here the leader of the group called attention to the influence the boy's early training might have had, and summarized the significant factors during his infancy as follows:

In the first place, Maxwell's rhythm of rest was irregular; he slept

late mornings but did not sleep again all day. He fretted quite a lot. The mother had to do her work before he waked each morning, for afterwards when the crying started she held him. This soon wore her down and she was constantly irritated with the baby; spankings started and continued; then she used switches. The twitching of the face began early; the mother says she spanked him for that, too, but the habit persisted. The father throughout this time has centered his affection on Maxwell; he admits the boy can have anything he wants. He never punishes Maxwell even when the mother is sure that he will do so; this is noted in the radio episode.

The fourth-grade teacher commented that the "divergence in treatment" received from his mother and father might have induced "conflict in the child," while another member of the group emphasized that there was "a confusion of standards for Maxwell." Not only did the father indulge the boy while the mother used a switch, but the mother herself was not always consistent; sometimes she had laughed at his behavior and at other times she had been irritated and had punished him. Would Maxwell "know what to expect"? The fourth-grade teacher resumed her comments and pointed out that there had been no regular routine throughout the boy's life; if he chose "to sit up until all hours of the night" waiting for his father, his mother let him do it or at least "until he fell asleep." This started some speculation about the mother and her real attitude toward Maxwell. Had she really wanted the child? Maxwell's teacher indicated that she had. Then the third-grade teacher wondered whether the fear the mother had had before the birth had influenced her later feeling toward him—the sister-in-law had "frightened her about death" and the woman was still afraid of hospitals.

Maxwell's teacher said a new baby was expected in May and the mother did "seem to want" it. The teacher had asked the little boy whether he would prefer a baby brother or sister:

He said he wanted a sister—not a brother. I wondered about this since his close friends are girls; on the "friendship and work-with" test he chose two girls; two boys chose him. Maxwell does seem to like girls best; Rosa can do almost anything she wishes to with him. But I wonder if girls give in to him more; I have not learned enough

about this yet. I noticed that Maxwell received a large number of valentines. I wonder, when the new baby arrives and if it is a boy, will the family be further divided?

A member of the group raised the question as to whether Maxwell's behavior might be a "striving for attention" in reaction to the "wrong kind" he got at home: "rejection from his mother and overindulgence from his father." Somebody else wondered if the boy's teacher could "use the coming of the new baby" as a means of giving the parents some "information on mental hygiene" and "help on dealing with children"; the "mothers' clinic at the hospital" might be of service in this connection, and it might help if "the nurse in charge" were told something about the way Maxwell had been treated. The second-grade teacher thought it might be possible to build on the father's great love in helping him "to understand the boy's needs." The leader remarked on the "close rapport" the teacher had already established with both parents. The teacher of second grade thought it "evident" that neither parent had "faced reality" and that "perhaps their own lives were disturbed"; she called attention to these facts: the mother was afraid before the child's birth; she was afraid to let the child sleep alone; her own attitude was inconsistent; the child was indulged constantly —there were late hours and no regular routine; the parents considered Maxwell "unusually bright," but they had provided "no pets" and apparently "do the coloring in Maxwell's books."

It will be noted that a number of the teachers went rather directly to the main point in this discussion and made quite penetrating comments on the causes of Maxwell's behavior and the nature of his needs. Doubtless this was due in large part to the circumstance that each teacher had read and analyzed the material before the meeting. In their analyses they had been guided by two questions: What factors are contributing to Maxwell's present behavior? What more should we know about him? The fact that they had been guided in their analysis by these questions may also account partially for the excellent insight they showed.

Hypotheses of selected teachers

Following the discussion the teachers were asked to write down any conclusions that they, individually, had reached. In doing this, they were to be guided by the same questions as in their preliminary analysis of Maxwell's behavior and needs. The statements by four of the teachers are reproduced in full.

1. What factors are at work to influence the behavior we are observing? Maxwell seems to be facing many difficulties; all these difficulties have overwhelmed him; he has to evade them in some way. His reaction seems to be against misunderstanding, wrong handling, and injustice: neurotic mother, divided authority, inconsistent and inadequate discipline, bad sleeping routine, and emotional instability.

His first key to power seemed to be crying for what he wanted. Because of ignorance and lack of understanding, did the mother tire of this crying when he became a little older, and take the path of least resistance, or the only punishment she knew, and whip him? Is he starved for real affection and appreciation? Isn't he striving to feel safe in his parents' affections? Does his mother resent the fact that he loves his father better than he loves her? Is his behavior rebellion against his mother? Is he trying her out to see what will happen? He is bewildered by inconsistencies. This fact in itself would make him feel insecure: scolded by the father yet overindulged, frequently whipped by the mother. Is he punishing them?

He has many colds; this would keep him feeling bad often. He has no regular routine for eating and sleeping evidently. He seems nervous, does not eat properly. Would the parents have Maxwell thoroughly examined by a physician? Is his school behavior just to get attention? To keep us aware of him every minute? Does his father tease him often? A teasing parent often causes a teasing child. He shows much improvement since the first weeks of school. Do the activities of school provide a healthy release? One cannot destroy dynamite by burying it; the more covering you place over an explosive, the more violent will be the damage when the eruption does occur. Punishing and scolding Maxwell only seem to add fuel to the fire; he prefers that to being ignored. Will he discard his weapon when he finds that the teacher is not like his mother and that threats do not move her?

What else would we like to know about the child? We could get a better picture of Maxwell's school life if he had many anecdotes covering a longer period of time. We could see observations of one

day in relation to previous days. How does he act at work period? Does he stick to his work? Does he work with other people? Can you tell us more about his play hours at home? He needs the companionship of children his own age. What frustrations did he have in early childhood? Was his eliminative training adequate? What cooperation could you get by talking with mother about corporal punishment and his daily routine living? Could she be led to see the importance of regular routine for toilet, eating, sleeping? The mother probably has fears. Could you find out if Maxwell does? Does he have temper tantrums? If you suggested that she discuss these problems with her husband and stressed the necessity of their cooperating in a consistent manner, would she do it intelligently?

2. What factors are influencing the behavior that we are observing? Mother's rejection which is seen through her punishment and some of her statements, as "Maxwell can be his daddy's and I'll have the new baby." Father's indulgence, as making the playhouse for him and saying Maxwell can have anything he wants. Mother's failure to face reality. His being in an unstable condition caused by differences in values and standards held by mother, father, and teacher, giving him a feeling of insecurity.

What else would we like to know about the child? Does he have any responsibility at home? Is there any evidence of mother and father agreeing on treatment of Maxwell? Can the teacher give him a better feeling of belonging to the class by group pressure or perhaps pressure from his "girl friends" as counting on him and recognizing each helpful thing done? How does he respond when his undesirable behavior is ignored? Does choosing him for parts in dramatics help? What kind of discipline was necessary for person with whom he stayed? Did he sleep with someone?

3. Factors that probably influence Maxwell's behavior:

- a. If tongue-tied, can't that be corrected? Perhaps if he could talk freely and easily, the lip and shoulder twitching would stop.
- b. Is there really a one-sided love situation? He is proud of his father who punishes less than the mother. Does he love father best because he buys and makes things for him? You said that you get better results with rewards and pleasure premiums. Is this a carry-over from home? Does his father practice this means of controlling him? I remember his father told him if he'd stay out of the rain, he wouldn't have croup. Would the mother have whipped him? He seems to love pets. Would it be a means of "paving the way" for the new sibling if his parents would get him a pet soon and let him begin to love and care for it? A white rabbit perhaps. He and his father, I gather, do

a lot of things together such as drying the dishes and working together on the chair. Couldn't the mother let him help her do some things?

- c. In the classroom situation does he take corrections from Rosa better because she helps and understands him and "mothers" him in a way? What are the causes of her strong influence on him? When they visited my room I asked Maxwell to sing for us. He tried "Jingle Bells"; hung head, and twitched some. Rosa suggested that all of them sing "God Bless America"; he "glued" his eyes on her and seemed more relaxed and better poised.
- d. Back to the home situation. I think the mother loves him very, very much—so much that she wants perfection in her own crude way. She probably thinks whipping will make him do what she wants and uses that means of punishment because of ignorance.
- e. Could parental control be too dominant? Or too one-sided? Does this cause his overaggressiveness in school? Since he demands attention at school, should he be pushed a little more in the background?

4. Factors contributing to behavior of child: Maxwell seems to be a child suffering from frustration and his aggressive behavior traits are defense mechanisms. His behavior is patterned in accordance with what experience has shown him to be the most satisfactory means of working out his problems. Conditions which have produced problems for the child may be attributed to the following situations:

- a. Crying in his early babyhood produced a satisfying result. His mother fondled him and held him. Later she perhaps grew tired of this crying and the great care of the child, and began spanking and later whipping him. The child became confused. Formerly crying had produced what he wanted; now it produced pain.
- b. Evidently the child had some organic or nervous disturbance when a baby that caused the lip twitching; a doctor should have been consulted. Instead the mother punished by whipping; I can easily see how this would aggravate the lip twitching and also have some effect on his defective speech.
- c. The mother does not seem to be a positive person. She punishes for one act and laughs at another. Probably Maxwell never knows what her reactions will be.
- d. The mother is not certain of her role as a mother. She doesn't seem to know how much affection she should show or how much punishment she should administer for his wrongdoings.

- e. The mother and father do not work together in controlling the child. The mother is the one who punishes; the father is the one who gives him anything he wants. How much is the father's overindulgence breaking down the training the mother is trying to build up or vice versa?
- f. The child was left with a neighbor while his mother worked. I do not know how much care and affection he received from this neighbor. He did roam around on the streets. A feeling of insecurity could result from his being left by his mother and being cared for by an "outsider."

Other information I would like to know: (1) Is the mother a person who has a lot of fears? We know that she had fear of dying before Maxwell was born. We know that she is afraid for Maxwell to sleep by himself. To what extent is Maxwell being taught unconsciously the habit of being afraid? His hanging over the banister may have been an attempt to prove to himself and to others that he was not afraid, that he was very daring. Inwardly he may have great fear. (2) Study the parents more, especially the father. It is hard to understand why two adults would color a child's picture book. Is their recreation often on such a juvenile level? How intelligent is their thinking? It is evident that Maxwell loves his father more than his mother. How much is Maxwell patterning his behavior after that of his father?

The discussion of Maxwell and the hypotheses written later to explain his behavior show that most teachers in the group agreed on certain factors as very important in molding his personality. For example, nearly every member of the group remarked upon the fact that his mother and father differed greatly in the behavior they required or expected of him and that the mother, in particular, was inconsistent in her treatment of him from time to time. They saw that these varying expectancies were confusing Maxwell and making him feel uncertain and insecure. Only one or two, however, recognized that the school, through its teachers, might be a temporary source of further confusion for Maxwell by employing still a third set of conduct standards and of methods of handling him. Few mentioned that some of his early behavior at school might have been due to efforts on his part to explore the nature of the new demands being made upon him and to find the dimensions of the new standards he faced.

But not all of the teachers agreed in their hypotheses. One teacher interpreted the mother's relationship to Maxwell as rejection and gave as evidence the mother's frequent punishment of the child and some of her remarks; for example, "Maxwell can be his daddy's and I'll have a new baby." A second teacher held the opposing view that Maxwell's mother "loves him very, very much—so much that she wants perfection in her own crude way." This teacher explains the whippings as an attempt to secure this perfection in Maxwell and as due to "ignorance."

If we examine the discussion and the hypotheses still more closely we find that these teachers were trying to discover or deduce and state a general concept that would explain how confusion and insecurity grow out of the inconsistent handling of children. This was exemplified by the teacher who noted that Maxwell "became confused" because the crying which produced satisfying results in his early babyhood ("his mother fondled and held him") later produced only pain when the mother "grew tired of his crying" and "began spanking him." Apparently, locating the generalizations that explain recurring behavior is facilitated by group procedures and by the pooling of suggestions as to what the correct explanatory principles are.

These teachers, instead of making immediate judgments of behavior and instead of allocating blame or approbation, sat down together to analyze the causes of a child's conduct and to figure out means of helping him develop more effective ways of acting. Under such circumstances there is likely to be considerable growth in understanding of human beings and of human relationships in general. The process of exploring together the many facts in a child's life history seems to help teachers to break through prejudices and personal emotional biases, to achieve new attitudes of tolerance and sympathy. One teacher illustrated this tendency by remarking that "the group discussion of the many causes of behavior has helped me become more tolerant of others—adults as well as children." Our own contact with these teachers leads us to think that this experience was true also of many others in the group.

SUMMARY

In this chapter we have described the efforts of two groups of teachers to pool their information about individual children and to cooperate in analyzing and interpreting that information. In the case of Nicholas the teacher's presentation of the basic material was oral and was followed by brief statements by all other teachers who had taught Nicholas or his brother. Given in order from the time he entered school up to the current year, these statements constituted a sort of developmental history showing persisting characteristics and problems and fluctuating family circumstances. They built up into a most interesting and valuable record. The case of Maxwell illustrates this pooling to a somewhat lesser extent chiefly because Maxwell was in the first grade and therefore had no earlier school history. Yet the colleagues of Maxwell's teacher did add a number of very interesting and significant anecdotes to her story.

Important procedural differences between the two groups are to be noted. In the case of Nicholas the presentation was verbal and was followed by verbal statements by all of Nicholas's former teachers. This made for a most interesting group meeting, giving one a sense of new or confirmatory evidence appearing steadily. On the other hand, the teachers had only their memories and possibly a few rough notes to rely upon when they later wrote up their analyses of the cause of Nicholas's behavior. It is not surprising, then, that their written statements were quite general, sometimes vague, and frequently showed failure to consider very significant bits of information. Doubtless they could have made much better analyses if they had had before them the written record of the meeting.

In contrast, the group meeting that discussed the case of Maxwell was devoted more extensively to adding significant anecdotes about his present situation and to discussing what could be done to help him. Doubtless this was due not only to the fact that Maxwell was a first grader, but also to the circumstance that members of the group already had read and analyzed his case. Having the mimeographed record of his teacher's study of Maxwell before them, they were able to recall anecdotes

that confirmed the facts as presented or that amplified information in certain areas. Having their own earlier analyses of the case in mind, they were able to make brief succinct statements of their hypotheses and to devote more time to the discussion of how Maxwell could be helped. It also is important to notice that their written analyses, prepared after discussion and with the aid of the mimeographed case record, were very much to the point, were usually more extensive than those prepared by the group that studied Nicholas, and in general showed a high degree of understanding of Maxwell. The case of Maxwell was included in this chapter to show the value of providing teachers with materials of this sort prior to group meetings and of encouraging each individual to make his own informal analysis before participating in the group discussion.

This chapter has illustrated two advantages to be derived from group meetings of teachers in connection with the study of individual children. The first is the advantage gained by pooling information about the child through the addition of knowledge possessed by other teachers to the information organized by the child's present teacher. These additions give a richer picture of the child's present behavior, of his developmental history, of his relationships with other children, and of his home life. The second advantage lies in the pooling of psychological knowledge in analyzing the child's motivation, behavior, and needs. Different teachers have different backgrounds of scientific study and can supplement one another's knowledge of facts and principles. Together they can focus an adequate range of explanatory generalizations upon the case at hand and can weigh the evidence that supports or refutes alternative hypotheses. Increased skill in analyzing a record was one outcome of this group procedure. Recognition of the need for additional data about the child was another. Increased sensitiveness to the dangers of personal bias in interpreting behavior was a third. A growing tolerance of both children and adults, based on deeper understanding of the causes of behavior, was also reported. Altogether, we feel that group analysis of individual case studies proved to be a most valuable study procedure.

VII

Looking for Patterns

THE POSSESSION of a great deal of information about a child does not of itself guarantee that a teacher will understand that child's motivation and actions; neither can a wide knowledge of the facts and generalizations about human development separately insure sound judgments about that pupil. Indeed, a teacher may have both bodies of knowledge and still fail to understand a child. Valid interpretation of a child's actions can be reached only when both the information about him and the explanatory principles have been brought together in such a way that meaningful interrelationships can be perceived and understood.

There are many pitfalls all along the way between gathering facts and using generalizations to indicate their probable meaning. It is therefore necessary to use procedures that constantly check facts and verify preliminary conclusions. We have made a tentative analysis of methods by which teachers can avoid errors and check their hypotheses while working out their interpretations of children's motivation and behavior. It will be presented in this chapter and then we shall illustrate how the teachers practiced one element of this procedure—the ordering of facts about a child into significant categories. Information about two children will be reproduced just as it was collected by their teachers, except that a few repetitious sentences or paragraphs will be omitted to save space. Then we shall show how the teachers organized these relatively large bodies of material by looking for patterns of behavior or factors in the child's environment that kept recurring in the situations covered by the record, and by arranging and classifying their material into large categories indicated to be significant by these recurring elements.

To highlight the need for taking these steps we shall begin by presenting the material gathered by Lawrence's teacher, asking the reader to set up his own hypotheses as he goes along about why this boy acted as he did.

THE CASE OF LAWRENCE

The teacher's introductory description was as follows: "Lawrence is a normally developed child of about average height and weight for his eleven years of age. He is in the fifth grade and is repeating this grade. In appearance he is rather untidy most of the time, his hand being very grubby, his hair tousled, and his face oftentimes smudged. I think that this is dirt which he accumulates after leaving home since his clothing is usually clean and in good condition."

Lawrence's first four months at school

The first of the school year found Lawrence a new pupil in a strange school. He had transferred from another school where he had not done well and so was placed in the fifth grade to repeat the work. From the first few moments I believed him to be a very high-strung and nervous child. He was exceedingly loud in his speech and very restless in movement, utterly unrestrained. During these first weeks our discussion periods were times of trial, and it seemed impossible to get Lawrence to realize how much time he monopolized. I felt that he was quite thoroughly disliked by the children and wondered what his aggressive acts had to do with it, since the children took no pains to hide their impatience. This state of affairs carried over into October.

When the friendship test was given that month and the chart depicting the results was completed, it was found that he was unchosen. On the work chart he was chosen by only one boy. This seemed significant to me because the child who chose him as a work partner is a very shy, reserved, and capable little fellow who seems quite self-sufficient, provided you did not believe that this air of self-sufficiency covers timidity. Lawrence is the antithesis of those characteristics as I shall show a little later.

His mother is ill most of the time, and this fact seems to weigh heavily upon the child's mind. He frequently reports to me on her condition and repeats over and over again how he wishes she could get well. The father works in the flour mill. There is one other

child, a boy of sixteen, who attends school. Lawrence tells me that this brother is dissatisfied and wishes to stop school and go to work. The parents, particularly the mother, are endeavoring to keep him in school, stressing the fact that he will be better fitted for work after he obtains an education.

There seems to be little money for spending purposes, although Lawrence paid his fees very promptly the first of the year. However, I noticed that for any little extra contributions, such as pennies for the lunchroom workers' Christmas gift, for the nurses, etc., he is unresponsive. A lack of interest in the former project could be explained, however, by the fact that he does not take lunch. When I questioned him about not bringing a sandwich or something from home, he declared that he would have hot lunch when he went home at 2:45. On the strength of this assertion, he often asked me to let him run home just for a few minutes to get something to eat at recess.

Several times, when left in the room with a small group not taking lunch in the lunchroom, he has come to grief by playing too boisterously. Once he broke a chairback and another time a pane of glass in the door. On each occasion he met me looking rather pale and upset, but seemingly very cocky and glib in his explanation and vociferous in his reassurances that he would *pay* for the damage. I surmised that these incidents were occasions for showing off—while the others were eating sandwiches from home or crackers and fruit from the store.

He always asks if there isn't someone absent who takes lunch.¹ This is a daily question. I tell him that if he can buy several lunches a week, why not bring in his quarter on Monday as the other children do? He dismisses this suggestion rather airily and the next day we go through the same discussion. I have thought of giving him free lunches, but find that he goes to picture shows two or three times a week.²

One day a child came to me on the playground and reported that Lawrence, who was also unacceptable on the baseball team, and so forth, was chasing little girls and pulling up their dresses. I sent for him at once and he admitted that the report was correct, but stoutly maintained that he "was just playing." He seemed rather bombasti-

¹ Lunches cost twenty-five cents a week and are paid for in advance each Monday morning. Only the needed number of lunches are prepared. Consequently, a child who does not eat school lunches regularly can obtain one only if some other child for whom a lunch has been prepared is absent. Lunches are supplied free to children certified by their teachers as needy.

² The price of admission to the moving picture theater nearest Larry's home is nine cents for children. At other theaters the price is eleven cents.

cal in manner. I told him very quietly that we would go at once to see the principal. Immediately his air of arrogance fell from him and he seemed very contrite and troubled. Instantly I regretted my rather hasty decision but carried it through. As we approached the office the child became very fearful. This was a new school and a new principal and a terrifying experience. Although he was not punished, he was thoroughly shaken for some time afterward. This situation made me wonder whether his father handles him harshly. Possibly an upset home with illness causes apprehension about finances and tense nerves. Later I felt justified in this conclusion. Once when Lawrence was very noisy during a discussion as he sat next to me, I reached over and laid my hand on his shoulder. Immediately he cringed and blinked as though fearing a blow. I spoke in an undertone and said, "Lawrence, you acted as though you thought I meant to strike you." He laughed and replied, "No'm, Miss S. I just wasn't taking no chances." Since that time I have purposely tried the same thing over with the same results.

Thanksgiving time arrived with little improvement shown in Lawrence's attitude. During a devotional period, I suggested that, if possible, every child in the grade should make an effort to attend a church service to return thanks for our many blessings this year. Immediately Lawrence spoke up. "I don't go to any church, Miss S. I got thrown out of one." I questioned him and found that a superintendent of a Sunday school had asked him to leave after he precipitated a fight. I endeavored to make him see how wrong he had been to fight in the Lord's house, but he was bitter because the other boy had not been asked to leave also. The discussion went on for some time, but he remained adamant, repeating that he had no church and wouldn't go to another "just to be thrown out." At this point one of the boys who is very definitely the leader of the entire class spoke up very quietly: "M (calling his last name in brotherly fashion), come on down to our church to my class." That ended the discussion at the time, but I doubt whether he accepted the invitation and I think probably the bitterness still rankles.

Under correction, Lawrence always attempted to argue and blame other children. I never found him surly or impudent in his arguments, but he seemed very unreasonable and unwilling to listen. To me he seems to be an exceedingly frank and honest child.

Very gradually the children began to take more interest in Lawrence and I took advantage of this new development to talk to them, when he was out of the room, regarding methods we might use to encourage and help him. The day he broke the pane of glass, the principal told him to go to the mill and get the glass cut according

to measurements. Andrew, the class leader, had been a number of times, so he volunteered to go and show Lawrence where to go, and so forth. He later told me that he talked the accident over with Lawrence and showed him that he was in error to be running all over the schoolroom with a broom. Andrew is a child who seems to have splendid ideals and a great sense of fairness (lately I have noticed, however, that his prominence in leadership seems to be developing his egoism unduly). This was a wonderful opportunity. Lawrence admires Andrew tremendously, and I feel that this incident did more to set Lawrence straight in his thinking than anything else.

From that time on he has really been a different child—still too talkative, still rowdy, but quick to apologize, seemingly more thoughtful of others, and very eager to please. He craves affection, loves to sit next to me in the circle, and is anxious to do anything that he can do for me.

After Thanksgiving I had the children write a description of how they spent the day. Lawrence loudly proclaimed that he did not know what to write, "All I did was go to grandmother's and cut wood all day."

On another occasion I had the children write what they would like if they could have three wishes granted them. Lawrence's first was the wish that his mother might get well, the second that his elder brother might get a job and make some money for the family, and the third was that he could be a pilot.

Around Christmas time I noticed that Lawrence had been accepted on the playground, and in his unbounded joy over this, he was subjecting himself to real punishment. Several times I saw him hurt rather badly, but on gathering himself together he would laugh and joke about it. One very raw cold day a boy threw Lawrence over his shoulder in such a way that the child's face scraped along the frozen ground and the lower part of his face and the lobe of his ear were badly scratched and bleeding freely. I started to go to him at once, but saw that he wanted no fuss made over him, so I refrained. As usual he got up making very light of the injury.

The grade is deeply interested in dramatization. At first Lawrence was never invited to take part in any of the plays, but gradually as he pleaded for odd bits he was taken in and then he had an opportunity to prove his ability. He has good ideas and since Christmas I notice that the children look to him for suggestion.

Previously, I spoke of the unusual partnership during work periods with the very reticent child. However, this attraction is a one-sided affair. Lawrence seems incapable of settling down to any one

task during activity. He seems desirous of flitting from group to group, from individual to individual, to offer criticism and suggestions. I sometimes think that he has never found anything that really grips his interest. Before Christmas he started any number of jobs relative to building our model farm. I would notice a moment or two later that he had laid his tools down and abandoned the work. When I tried to show him the necessity of sticking, he would loudly give some inconsequential excuse. Then one day to my utter amazement he very casually brought in a perfect model of a silo, complete to the last rung on the tiny ladder. He was well pleased with my commendation, but then after that one finished job he lapsed again into his old lack of "stickability." Perhaps he needs solitude when he works. Or is he a lonely child? An ignored child (because of illness in the home) who craves companionship so desperately that this want consumes his whole time?

As I said before, Lawrence is not a neat child and when I suggest quietly that he go and wash his hands so that he can keep the books clean, he very loudly advises that this is impossible, but he goes immediately and scrubs vigorously showing them proudly to me upon his return from the wash-up corner. He declares with emphasis that he cannot keep them that way, and I must admit that it doesn't seem possible. Lately as he comes to sit beside me, he has been placing his dirty hands against mine as he grins up at me, and then without a word, he retires to scrub.

He spent his Christmas day in three picture shows. His parents gave him nice gifts of clothes but none of the games, skates, puzzles, and so on, dear to a boy's heart. He told me that as soon as he opened his presents, he bathed and dressed and went on into town for the first picture show. He saw the second in the afternoon and the third at night. Could this be the escapist idea? Avoidance of friends who received things which he had not?

Anecdotal record

January 8: Lawrence approached me as I entered the classroom and handed me a small package. The children, all knowing the contents, were much pleased and excited. On opening it, I found a tiny crocheted hat and purse to be worn as a lapel ornament. Lawrence proudly said that his mother had copied it from some that a man was selling from door to door for twenty-five cents. She had made this one for me and also one for a boy in the room to give his mother. This boy and Lawrence have become friends, and since Edwin stands next to Andrew in popularity, I feel that Lawrence's acceptability may be assured from now on.

January 11: Lawrence came to school looking spic and span. He seemed pleased when I complimented him on his appearance. Today he slipped back a little in his old monopoly of conversation. He was noisy and restless all day. I inadvertently locked my keys to the cupboard inside with my purse. I let him remove the lock, get the keys out, and then replace the lock. This he enjoyed immensely, second only to the joke on me.

January 12: Lawrence came to school today with very dirty hands, and a none too clean shirt. I made no comment. At recess he came to me and asked if he might run home to see if he could get money to buy a ticket to see the play at the high school. "Do you think you can get the money?" I asked. "Are you fairly certain that you can?" His voice fairly roared as he replied, "I don't know, Miss S. I don't know whether I can or not. I might." I let him go but told him I would like for him to clean up a bit if he found that he could go. A little later he came back just immaculate. He was wearing a nice silk tie and a lovely new green and tan sweater. The children admired him wholeheartedly as he said, "I told Mother you said clean up a bit and she made me do it right."

He enjoyed the play tremendously. His seat was just in front of mine, and several times during the performance he turned to laugh with me over some quip. I was surprised the next morning, therefore, when a little girl reported that Lawrence claimed the play was not worth thirty cents. I asked him why he told the children that when he had shown such evidence of enjoyment. He replied, "That wasn't what I meant, Miss S. I meant I didn't think I should have spent the thirty cents when it is so hard to get." This seemed to be a new slant. Perhaps his mother let him have the money with the injunction that there could be no more for such purposes. Probably this weighed on his mind.

January 14: Today we decided to enact the play for the children who did not go to the high school to see it. Lawrence was chosen to play the part of the dwarf, and his performance was excellent. He was also a great help in prompting and correcting the other players as to the sequence of events and their speaking parts.

January 15: The children asked me to give the play for other grades. The sixth grade was invited down to the room for the second performance. Again Lawrence played his part well, but afterward he seemed unable to settle down to work and asked me to let him move his seat. I asked him where he preferred sitting and he was vague, saying, "Just anywhere," adding, "I'm tired of sitting here." Since he had done very little sitting all day, we left the matter undecided.

January 18: This is a Monday and probably the worst day we have had this year. The rain poured in torrents. On checking the roll, I found Lawrence absent, but the children claimed that they had seen him earlier in the boiler room. This is more or less forbidden territory. Lawrence never came into the schoolroom all day.

January 19: He greeted me at the door and said that he heard that the children said he came to school the day before and was seen in the boiler room, but that he had stayed at home all of Monday and was in bed with a sore throat part of the day. I knew that he had been feeling badly on Friday. He said, "Miss S, I had my lunch money for this week, but lost four cents in bed." I told him that I would make it up and that he could pay me later. He seemed much pleased.

At recess he stood by me while we watched a group playing marbles, and talked to me very freely. He said that his mother was back in bed and suffering terribly with her back. I asked what she did to amuse herself, and he said that she read a great deal—mostly magazines and *True Romances*. He said that his father prepared breakfast and dinner each day and then they ate scraps for supper. The father goes to the mill at three and works until eleven at night. Lawrence said that his mother crochets a good bit and had made a beautiful baby blanket recently. She has a crooked arm, an injury received as a child while playing against the wishes of her father.

He is a great lover of dogs and has a huge creature which is part police dog. He often brings Rover to the school for the day and the children have also become greatly attached to him. On several hikes and excursions Larry has taken Rover along. He tells me numerous stories about Rover's intelligence and about other dogs which he has owned. One or two met tragic ends and he told me about these with great feeling, admitting that he cried a great deal over their deaths, particularly over one which was electrocuted. He added: "Miss S, I think I felt much worse over Spot's death because I had fussed at her that day." I could tell that this was a genuine remorse, long remembered. He said too, "I had a kitten that I loved, too, Miss S. She was sweet." His eyes shone as he spoke with emphasis. (Note: Lawrence always uses my name repeatedly.) I noticed several times during the day that Lawrence went back to the clean-up corner and scrubbed his hands, painstakingly combed his hair. Not once during the day did I have to mention the matter to him.

January 21: Soon after school this morning three or four boys who serve as traffic officers arrived and asked to speak to Lawrence. They took him outside and talked with him. In a few moments they returned and one boy asked me to punish Lawrence for dis-

obedience. I questioned Lawrence about the disturbance and he loudly proclaimed that he was just walking on the grass when one of the boys grabbed him by the shoulder and ordered him off. He said, "I just told him to keep his shirt on." I then said, "Lawrence, you were wrong in two matters. What were they?" He immediately said, "Walking on the grass and talking back at the boy. But," he added, "Miss S, he had no business to grab me by the shoulder." We then discussed the rights of authority and the need for having certain people vested with authority. I then asked him if he thought it necessary that I punish him since I had been asked to do so. His reply was, "No. I'll remember next time."

Today he did a splendid job of making a model plane. He worked with another child and was most cooperative and amenable to any suggestions. When I commended him he looked at me with a twinkle in his eyes. I could see that he was searching for some comeback and finally he made his retort: "Miss S, you make me laugh!" Notwithstanding, I thought he was well pleased with the praise.

For some time Lawrence has been rather unhappy over my calling him Lawrence instead of Larry. I began this the first of the year in an effort to distinguish between three Larrys in the classroom. The others having come through the lower grades at this school, and Lawrence being a new child, I thought this the best plan. However, I realize now that this was a mistake. Recently I have started calling him Larry part of the time and Lawrence part of the time. Today he asked me if I could do him a favor and when I answered that I would be glad to, if possible, he said, "Please don't call me Lawrence. Call me Larry in the future." I shall certainly endeavor to remember his wishes in this.

January 22: A number of children were out during the day for the scrap drive. Larry seemed to settle down in a very marked way with the smaller groups. During the work period he became greatly interested in painting a Chinese (we are studying China at the present time), and he worked steadily. I noticed that he was interested in all the work throughout the day. As he was leaving to go home he came to me with a grin and remarked, "Miss S, you can't say that I did good work today because we haven't done any." This I thought was indicative of keen interest. It had all seemed like play to him whereas I felt that he had done more in that day than ever before.

January 29: Lawrence meets me every day at the door now, and this morning he told me that his mother had been carried to the hospital at four o'clock. She evidently has an acute kidney infection which has affected her eyes. Lawrence said he had taken in a stray

kitten that had sore eyes and he believed that his mother had caught them from the kitten. He seemed worried over this and said he had fed the kitten well and put it outside again. I assured him that his mother's illness was due to something else, and he seemed somewhat relieved.

He worked more consistently during the work period today on a map of China. However, I find that he wants to stay nearby and when I go from group to group, he follows me and trumps up excuses to get me back to his table. Lately he has shown marked interest in a little girl in the grade and has been sitting by her whenever possible. I am a little concerned over this particular friendship. The girl comes from a much better home than most but has a step-mother toward whom she is antagonistic. She has spent her life from earliest childhood pretty much as she pleased. When I suggested that she talk the matter over with her mother, she acidly retorted, "She has nothing to do with me. Daddy tells me what to do." Briefly, she is a child who has obtained sex knowledge in the wrong way and she is anxious at all times to impart her learning to others. She is a very attractive looking child but most tempestuous. Every boy in the room seems to be attracted to her and she is well aware of the fact. Perhaps Larry is only one of the "herd" but I can already tell that Alice's influence is making itself felt.

January 25: Larry brought in a quarter for his lunch remarking, "I saved this money, Miss S." I presume that he denied himself the pleasure of a picture show during the weekend. He seems to enjoy his lunches very much, and I am anxious to see whether he takes them again next week. I forgot to mention that he paid me the four cents advanced the previous week on his lunch money.

February 1: When I arrived at school today, Larry was standing on the steps just outside the classroom door. I heard him loudly repeating, "I do that every day." When he saw me he broke off, and as usual of late, came forward to meet me saying, "Good morning, Miss S." "What is it that you do every day, Larry?" "Tell lies." He talked for a few minutes to me and then just before we began checking up on the milk order for the day, and so on, he nonchalantly remarked, "Miss S, I have a little sister. Her name is Nina." I was utterly amazed at this turn of events. I had not suspected that the mother's continued illness was due to an abnormal pregnancy. At the same time I felt somewhat relieved. Perhaps now she would improve and the home conditions could be more normal. Larry's reaction to the baby's arrival has been one of studied indifference as far as I can detect. He doesn't seem particularly proud of having a little sister, but this attitude could be easily understood when one

realizes that he has been the younger child in the family for all of eleven years. He asked if he could get out early to go to the hospital, but when the time for his going arrived he told me that he didn't think he would go that day.

February 2: This morning as I approached the classroom, I could hear Larry's voice soaring above the others. As I entered he dropped it and as usual came forward to greet me. He was very neat and clean and said he thought he would go to the hospital "today." When the hour rolled around again, he came to me saying, "Miss S, your clock says twenty after one and Ellen's watch says twenty-five after one so I don't think I'll go today. I'll just wait until another time." This seemed to me to be an alibi. Did he not want to go to the hospital? Had he seen his mother ill so many times that he was fearful of how he might find her after this experience? Larry is not taking lunch this week. He has switched from painting to making a model airplane during activity period. He does seem to enjoy handling his knife and whittles much of the time.

February 4: Larry has never taken any part in the construction of the large plane, but offers many criticisms during the discussion period following the work period. Many of these are true and apt—so much so that the boys actively engaged in the construction become resentful. However, on several occasions they have rather sheepishly done a job over after Larry has more or less ridiculed it.

February 5: Larry very generously gave the committee working on the large plane a set of wheels. He was very nonchalant in bestowing the gift, saying, "Andrew, you all can have those wheels of mine. You know where they are—under the porch." With that he was off about his own concerns. Today he informed me that his mother had come home from the hospital but only after I questioned him about her. He has nothing more to say about her nor about the baby. During the work period he came to me and as he whittled a propeller for a plane, asked, "Miss S, how can you have someone have confidence in you?" I told him various ways with concrete illustrations and then asked, "Are you thinking of a friend?" "Yes'm, a boy who doesn't like me, but I like him." "Is he in this grade?" "No'm. He's in another room." We had quite a little talk about the matter and he asked me if I would lend the boy money in an effort to win his approval. I advised against this and told him that there were numerous better ways of winning friendship and suggested some. He seemed somewhat relieved after the talk.

February 8: Today I had to leave the room to take a child to the clinic after the nurse had left for the day. She had injured her knee and it took some time to cleanse and dress the abrasion. When I

approached the room on my return I thought I could distinguish Larry's voice along with another Larry's over the rest of the conversation. When they saw me through the window there was a loud "Shhhh" followed by absolute silence. As I stepped inside the room, I remarked that I didn't care about their getting quiet just because I was coming. I then said that I could distinguish two voices that had been 'way above conversational tones. The children knowing that Larry had been boisterous on so many occasions, this time rushed to his defense. One child said, "Miss S, it wasn't Larry M. He said he was going to be quiet all the time you were gone from the room and he has been." I was delighted with this new championing by the group of Larry. I thought it certainly showed some signs of progress toward their acceptance of him.

February 10: Larry has got very conscious of personal cleanliness. Is his interest indicative of attraction toward the opposite sex? I notice that the group also has become conscious of cleanliness, and many times during the day one or two children will go to the wash-up corner to scrub hands and oftentimes faces, and to comb and rearrange hair. I noticed today that Larry was there twice during one hour and several other times during the day. He is not taking lunch this week but each day has been given an apple. Before eating this he always washes his hands. (This, by the way, has been his only lunch. One day he told me that he had come to school without breakfast.)

He worked hard and painstakingly today on a food chart for the rationing program. His work was very neat and he seemed to derive much pleasure from his efforts. I let him take the chart with several others to Miss L. During the work period, as I stood near him for a moment, he asked, "Miss S, what do you think of money friends?" "What do you mean?" "I mean people who only like you for money." "Are you speaking of the same person whom you wanted to have confidence in you?" "No'm." I made several attempts to get something more out of him, but that was all he would divulge. Today I asked how the little sister was, and at first he was very noncommittal but finally said, "My father goes in and talks to her every night when he comes home." I thought I could detect a little jealousy there but when I said, "He's proud of her and I know you are, too," he agreed.

February 11: Today we made war ration book #2 to use in a grocery store for the purpose of a better understanding of rationing and in connection with our arithmetic. Larry seemed to be fascinated and his book was by far the best one in the room. He also made an excellent poster showing goods that are rationed. This was put in the hall along with a number of others from various grades.

February 12: Larry proposed today that we have a "doctor and

two nurses" appointed to examine each child in the room for cleanliness of body, teeth, and for neatness of hair. He was spotless today and spent quite a bit of time washing his hands after recess and combing his hair. The children appointed him with two assistants to make the examination. Why was this, that probably the most untidy child in the class became an example of neatness? No doubt he will have his relapses but at present he seems most conscious of cleanliness. When the valentines were distributed from the box, I noticed that Larry was well remembered and no one had a better time in the room. I let him give them out in order that he might have less time to feel a slight, should there be one. I need not have worried.

February 16: The weather was so bitterly cold that we did not go on the playground today. The children played games in the room during the regular recess period. Andrew and Larry chose sides for a game which is known as "stealing the bacon." I was talking to a group of children in the front of the room while the choosing was in process, and in a moment I heard a loud altercation. Larry said that all the children wanted to be on Andrew's side rather than on his. Andrew was somewhat smug about the matter, remarking, "I can't help it if they all want to be on my side." I told them that there could be no game without a fair dividing up. After that they selected the two teams with no further friction. Larry played roughly and very boisterously. Once when he and an opponent caught the "bacon" at the same time, there was a terrific tug of war. Larry rolled off the rug and his white shirt was soon black from the dirt and oil of the floor. He was quite conscious of this and immediately replaced his jacket to cover the soiled shirt.

Later in the day he came to me with a leather belt in his hand and remarked, "Miss S, this is the sort of belt my daddy uses to whip me with 'cept his has split pieces of leather on the end." "Does he whip you often?" "No'm. He used to, though." I have questioned the children about their household duties; rather, I had them write reports on "how I help at home." Larry washes dishes, brings in coal and wood, and runs errands. He told me that he would probably go to his grandmother's and cut wood next week while out of school (rationing week).

February 18: Larry has been exceedingly loud and talkative today. His monopoly of the conversation was very trying. He made remarks about the other children's "ignorance," he broke into the reading circle, he changed places in the room a number of times. Once he tilted his chair back so far that it slipped and he fell with a crash to the floor. He was very clean for an hour or two and then I noticed that

his hands looked as though he had wiped out a chimney corner. He retired to the clean-up corner a number of times and was there each time for minutes on end. He drove his open knife into the floor all during a discussion, he wisecracked, and when I remonstrated with him for his talking out of turn, he said, "They wouldn't let us talk at [the other] school. If we did they kept us in." When I said, "Well, you didn't learn that you mustn't talk *all* the time even then, did you?" He replied, "No'm. I had to stay in all the time." Once today he got up from his chair, walked across the room, and without rhyme or reason snatched a wooden spindle from a child's hand. The child was quite indignant. I asked Larry why he had done this and his only reply was a shrug of the shoulder and a pursing of the lips. It developed that the spindle belonged to a third child who was utterly disinterested at the time.

Rover spent the morning in the classroom. He is an immense dog—a crossbreed of German police and Airedale. He is utterly devoted to Larry and sits with his nose against Larry's knees or lies with his head on Larry's feet. All during the morning Larry fondled Rover at intervals. This attention was returned on Rover's part with a rapid, staccato thumping of his tail on the floor. The sound was prolonged, loud, and exceedingly regular. During rhythms Larry found of his own accord that he would have to put Rover outside since he followed so closely on his heels. During the first few minutes of this period, he scattered a pocketful of marbles over the floor and then held the entire group up while these were gathered up and safely stored away behind the victrola. All of this consumed no little time.

February 19: Today Larry was called to the office. When he returned we were on the playground and I questioned him regarding the reason for his summons to the office. He told me that the afternoon before he and a group of boys from the sixth grade were playing in a ditch on the edge of a woman's yard. He said that one thing led to another until some of the boys began throwing lumps of coal at each other. The irate woman then threatened them for being on her property, scattering her coal, etc. Larry said that some of the boys "sassed" her but he had no words with her nor did he have a part in scattering the coal. The sixth-grade teacher and I questioned several of the other boys and they corroborated Larry's story that he had taken no active part in the real disturbance.

February 22-26: Rationing week. During this time I had an opportunity to talk with the school nurse regarding the family. She asked me if I knew that Mrs. M had been married before. I was surprised and asked why the children by the first marriage had

adopted the stepfather's name. She could give no reason for this. The baby born recently is the first child by the second marriage and was a welcomed baby. The boys had been advised of its coming and are very proud of it, she told me. She said that Mrs. M did not have a particularly hard time when the baby was born, but added, "You know, she has a very serious nervous disorder." When I questioned her about Larry's health she said, "His tonsils are very bad and should have been removed two years ago."

During the week Mr. M came in for Larry's books and I identified myself to him as Larry's teacher. His first remark after acknowledging the introduction was, "Does Lawrence give you a lot of trouble?" (By the way, the family calls him Lawrence.) We talked about the baby and he urged me to come see her.

March 1: Today I asked Larry in the hall as he stood beside me talking, "Is Mr. M your real father?" "No'm. He's just my step-father." "Why is your name M then?" "I don't know Miss S, I never did go into that." He seemed much embarrassed. Later I asked him if his own father had died and he said he didn't know anything about him. He just remembered seeing him twice. Again he seemed deeply embarrassed and I let the subject drop.

March 4: The children told me today that Larry would be late and perhaps would not come at all, as he had to have his shoes repaired. I was surprised and wondered why he had not seen about them in the afternoon. At noon, as we were seated in the circle reading some reports, the door burst open with a bang. Rover dashed in followed by Larry loudly announcing, "Here I am." As he spoke both feet shot out from under him and boy and dog fell in a heap. His shoes had been resoled and were stiff and slick. He told me that he went to the shop the afternoon before but it closed at one o'clock. His father took them back that morning and had the soles put on but made the heels himself. Larry said it took him two hours to complete the job. It was a very cold day and Larry reported that his parents thought his shoes too worn for him to wear without repairing.

I was standing in the hall after lunch watching the children as they came downstairs. As Larry neared the bottom his feet slipped again and he fell heavily against the last three steps. I saw that he was hurt. His face showed pain and he did not immediately get to his feet. Later, upon reaching the room, I took occasion to remark that one or two children had laughed when Larry fell and I thought they should always wait to see whether or not a person was hurt. I added, "Then if they laugh, you might also." Larry spoke up hastily to say, "But I did laugh, Miss S, so it was all right."

March 5: Today I visited the M home. I had been there earlier in the fall but had seen neither parent. The eldest son opened the door for me and I was invited into a warm, comfortable, and clean bedroom. Mrs. M was seated before an open fire with the baby in her arms. She immediately laid her in a bassinet and began to talk freely. At once she wanted to know about Larry. She said that all last year he hated school and wanted to stay out on the slightest provocation. This year, she advised, he cries if not permitted to go. Cries! I could scarcely believe my ears. I have never seen him shed a tear—not even when badly hurt. The eldest brother, who stayed in the room, spoke up and said, "He cries over everything." Mrs. M said, "Yes, he does. Sometimes when I talk to him about things he sits here and cries and promises to do better. Lots of times he goes to bed crying and will cry for an hour or two. It makes me so nervous. I pray about him and cry over him. I know he is on the street too much but it makes me so nervous to have him around and to have him punished that I'd just rather let him go out than to endure the strain."

Mr. M had come in and at this point he asked me if Larry had told me why he was out during the morning. He then added, "He cried because I kept him at home to mend his shoes." "Do you think that Larry is a nervous child?" I asked. "Oh yes indeed. He had an operation for appendicitis two years ago and it seemed to have ruined his nerves. His tonsils need taking out too, but I'm afraid to have it done because he is so nervous." I asked if his appendicitis had been chronic and she said that George, the elder son, had told her one day, "Mother, you'll have to have something done about Lawrence's side. He cries with pain every day when going to school." She remarked that Lawrence is ~~never~~ still and mentioned his habit of thrusting his knife into the flooring.

I questioned her about her own nervous condition, which is quite apparent in the restless movement of her hands, twitching of facial muscles, and regular spitting into the fire. She does not seem to dip snuff. She told me that when the two boys were very small she lived in R and was alone in the house with the children when a tornado struck. The front porch was torn away and never found. This experience so frightened and shocked her that she has never been well since. I recalled that Larry had once told me she reacted in a very frightened manner toward dark clouds and thunderstorms. He said that she trembled violently and turned very pale. As he expressed it, "Miss S, she just has a fit."

Mr. M said that he had spent much money on medicine and doctor's bills during their nine years of marriage in an effort to help

her. She told me that none of her friends or members of her family expected her to come through the baby's birth alive. "In fact," she said, "they watched the papers when the time arrived thinking they would find the notice of my death." She said she did have a difficult time just prior to the baby's birth when she developed a kidney infection resulting in temporary loss of eyesight. "My medicine alone cost us \$150." She told me that the nervousness affected her by causing smothering spells. It was so bad before the baby came that she spent the greater part of many nights walking the floor. She thinks she is better now but has lost much weight and is very pale and drawn.

Mr. M asked if I got any work out of Lawrence. I replied that he was doing very nicely in various subjects. He said, "I don't mean that. What I want to know is are you able to get any *manual* work out of Lawrence? Don't you do some sort of work like that over there?" I had to admit that I had thus far failed to get much manual work out of Larry. He laughed heartily and the whole family asserted with one accord that they knew I couldn't because "it just isn't in him."

I spoke of Larry's frankness and honesty, and his stepfather then paid his first tribute: "Oh yes, he is just like an open book." This opened an incident that I had utterly forgotten. The first of the year some money was taken in the room. Later, events and circumstances established the fact (to a fair degree of certainty) that a child who was later placed in an industrial school was the guilty person. Larry, being new in the school, had been accused by one or two children. His mother said that he came home in tears and told her about it. She said that it was a terrible blow to have a child of hers suspected of such an act. They were all so upset at the time that even the step-father wept. She told me, "I don't think that Lawrence would ever tell a lie and I never told but one in my whole life." This incident had weighed heavily on them and I was shocked to think that the matter had not been cleared up more satisfactorily and more promptly.

I asked if they thought Lawrence was jealous when the baby arrived, and Mr. M laughed. "No, indeed. Why, he went from house to house to tell the news." Mrs. M repeatedly spoke of the difference in the two boys. "George is a regular mommer's boy. He helps me and is so dependable." (While I was there George was busy fetching things for the baby.) The mother said, "Larry doesn't go with the right kind of boy. He runs on the street too much and sometimes the boys come here. They are the kind that smoke and cuss but what can I do about it? I can't insult them by asking them to leave

the house. Sometimes it worries me nearly to death. Lots of nights before the baby came, there'd be a crowd of them here until eleven thirty and I'd have to just go on to bed. Then I'd get so nervous I'd have to get up and walk." Mrs. M told me that there is five years' difference in age between George and Larry, and eleven years between Larry and the baby. She has been married the second time nine years this month. She is forty years of age. She mentioned with regret that she and Mr. M will both be well on in years by the time the baby is an adult.

One other incident regarding Larry's activities on the playground seems significant to me. He often comes over to me at recess and places his marbles nearby where I can keep an eye on them, remarking, "Now Miss S, I'm going out to fight somebody." He dashes off and tackles a boy roughly. One day he came back rather triumphantly, I thought, to announce that he had made Alfred cry. Alfred is a retained boy, large for his age, and a great cry baby. On another occasion he injured a boy while indulging in the same rough play. I sent the child to the room and when he went in found him seated in a rocker with his head back and his eyes closed. Larry saw me looking at him as he sat beside me and said, "Miss S, I didn't mean to hurt Bill's head." "Have you told him so?" Without another word he got up and went back to speak to Bill.

March 15: This is the day the Japanese submarine was brought to town in the interest of bond and stamp sale. Permission was given children to attend; they had to leave a little early. The day was very rainy and bad, and just as the group prepared to leave the room I suggested that as many as could ride the trolley. There was some little discussion and Larry, who was right in the center of the group, suddenly decided that he would not go at all. He gave no excuse but he had sufficient money and up to the very moment of stepping over the threshold he had been very keen about the trip. The very next day he brought in the newspaper photograph of the sub and was thoroughly informed about the whole thing. In fact, he was able to describe it much better than many who actually saw it.

March 23: Today I kept Larry a few minutes to talk to him. He had spent a most restless day. During our conversation he asked, "Miss S, did you tell Andrew that you didn't intend to promote me this year?" Upon my telling him that I would never discuss such a matter with another child, that his work was satisfactory for the most part, etc., he said, "Well, I didn't think you said that. Andrew doesn't like me anyhow."

March 24: Larry told me today that his brother has a job in the afternoon at the brick factory. He seems delighted and tells me

that his brother is also pleased. He brought an enlarged snapshot of the baby to school and seemed pleased with my admiration. I suggested that he show it to one or two teachers I thought would be particularly interested, and he returned to report what each had said.

April 6: Larry was out of school today and I sent a child to ask whether he was sick. The child came back saying that the step-father came to the door and said, "Tell Miss S that Lawrence is sick today." Just as the child started to leave, Larry came out incompletely clothed and tried to give some message for me. The child reported that the stepfather said, "I have already told him what to tell Miss S," and struck him. When Larry came back to school he told me that Fred (the child) had misunderstood the whole situation and tried to explain it by saying that his father's elbow slipped off the mantel and accidentally struck him. My surmise is that he was trying to camouflage an unnatural and unhappy situation.

I went over later in the day and talked to the mother. She did not mention this incident but told me that Larry had been sick—had fallen while playing with an iron pipe and hurt his stomach. I asked to see him and she went into a back room and called, but came back saying that he "must have just gone out." Once lately when I was talking to a group of boys about smoking, Larry said that his father had found out that he had been doing this with a gang and had whipped him and threatened to send him away to a reformatory if ever caught again. He commented on how frightened he had been. Larry tells me that he attends Sunday school fairly regularly now—unless they go out of town or he is sick.

Larry's relations with others

The children in the class often show displeasure and impatience when Larry is particularly annoying. On the few occasions this year when he has been absent, they have remarked about how "peaceful" it was without him. On the other hand, I have never seen them display any marked unkindness; rather, they have tried to help him from time to time. They very often lend him pencils and they once renewed library books in order to save payment of a fee.

The Guess Who test given in the spring revealed the following results: there were 20 votes for Larry as someone who "finds it hard to sit still," 22 for "likes to talk a lot," 6 for "enjoys a fight," 8 for "is always telling others what to do," 6 for him as one whom "nobody seems to care much about," and 6 as one who "doesn't seem to have many friends."

When the friendship test was given the preceding fall, Larry was

not only unchosen but was rejected by six children. In the spring he was rejected by four and chosen by one. On the work chart in the fall he had six rejections with one acceptance. In the spring he had four rejections with one acceptance.

For a time it seemed that Larry had singled out Andrew in the class for his particular friend. This was not at all a mutual friendship. This association was rather forced by Larry from all indications, since Andrew expresses great disgust and boredom. Once when Larry purposely slid across the floor and fell, Andrew looked up in the reading circle and witheringly said, "I know without looking who that is. It's old Larry." When Larry attempts to argue a point Andrew usually settles him with, "Aw shut up, Larry." Larry volunteered to lend Andrew money to buy material for his sash for the Mexican dance. The neighborhood store did not have this material in stock and had sent elsewhere for a limited supply. Andrew was staying after school to finish up some work, and Larry said that he would not only lend the money but would go after the cloth to be sure that Andrew got his before it was all sold out. Andrew demurred and Larry countered with, "You're so stubborn, G [using last name]." After a rather heated argument Andrew gave in very grudgingly and Larry hurried away for the material.

Later Larry volunteered to help another child whose mother was working to get his costume ready. He took him home with him, supplied him with ball fringe for his sombrero, had his mother sew it on and take the darts in his pants legs to make them fit tightly. Recently I moved Larry to a certain table in the room after letting him choose his own seat all year. I did this in an effort to get him to settle down a bit. Since then he has formed a new friendship with a boy whom he tells me now he likes better than any other boy in the room. Once, by the way, when I asked him whom he considered his best friend in the room, he replied, "I have no good friends, Miss S." I pressed him further by asking, "How about Andrew?" His reply, "You ask him how he feels about me," was indicative of strong feeling.

VARIATIONS IN INTERPRETATION

The material just presented as "the case of Lawrence" is quite characteristic of the accumulations of information and anecdotes made by teachers in the child-study groups in the course of a school year. But such a collection is of little value until it is interpreted, and the question of how to insure valid interpretations was raised at the beginning of this chapter.

Some of the problems met in helping teachers to learn reliable procedures for interpreting the behavior of children may be illustrated by the reader's own response to the teacher's records about Lawrence. If persons reading this volume are at all like the many school people to whom this material has been presented for discussion, the probability is high that they will have formed certain hypotheses about why Larry acted as he did, about what he needed to make him a happier, better behaved and better liked boy, and about how he should have been handled at school. But one reader will differ greatly from another as to the actual hypotheses accepted and conclusions reached. Judging from responses to verbal presentations of this material the interpretations will show at least the range of variation given below:

1. Some hypotheses will be vague and confused because the material was not organized and presented in such a way as to indicate relevant interpretive principles.
2. The conclusion will have been reached by a few that the teacher showed too much forbearance, that she put up with too much. Such judgments stem from the assumption that children should be forced to act in accordance with certain established codes of conduct in the classroom no matter what may be happening to them at home and no matter what their tensions and needs may be. Only the data about behavior could be used in reaching such a conclusion.
3. Some interpretations will have shown emotional identification with Larry, based upon sympathy for his presumed situation as a cruelly treated stepchild, upon a shared love for animals and a feeling that a lad who is kind to them must be all right, or upon admiration for the way he faced life because he met crises head on, with frankness, with courage in the face of fear, with stoicism in the face of pain, and with action in the face of rejection.
4. Some hypotheses will have leaned heavily upon certain limited scientific generalizations, finding in one or two principles the explanatory essence of all of Larry's motivation. For example, some will have thought that the imminence of the birth

of the baby and her later presence in the home as the center of attention of both mother and father so severely threatened Larry's security in the family as to account for most of his aberrant behavior. Others will have seen most of Larry's actions in the classroom and on the playground as aggressive bids for acceptance by his peers in the new school group. Still others will have concluded that the underprivileged social status of his family accounted alike for the way Larry was treated at home, for his boisterous, aggressive behavior in the classroom, and for his general outlook on life.

5. Quite an extensive set of explanatory principles will have been used as the basis for many other interpretations but still will have failed to include one or two that were justified by the facts. For example, heightened activity due to hunger may have been a factor in the breaking of the chair and the pane of glass. Responsiveness to the teacher's preoccupation with cleanliness doubtless was a bid for winning her regard during a period of great insecurity. The long history of loving animals showed persisting attempts at compensation for the mother's neglect and virtual rejection, the latter being evidenced by her inaction despite his continued abdominal pain, by her characterization of the older brother as "mommer's boy," and by her sending Larry out to consort with a group of known delinquents to save herself from "nerves." Larry's rough play while "stealing the bacon," his "going out to fight somebody," and his pleasure at making another boy cry perhaps were aggressions against individuals who had frustrated his need to belong to the group by rejecting him.

We have repeatedly experienced this range of interpretation of Larry's case when it was presented to different groups of school people. Such variation in hypotheses demonstrates that even the possession of extensive and vital information about a child does not guarantee or even imply sound judgments, objective attitudes, or wise policies in dealing with that child. Nor did the teachers in our child-study groups learn to "understand" children simply by accumulating facts and anecdotes about them, or even by participating more widely in the several

other activities that have been described in preceding chapters. All these experiences helped, but there remained to be accomplished certain crucial learnings of scientific methodology and the acquiring of some new mental habits and attitudes consistent with that methodology.

ESSENTIAL STEPS IN INTERPRETATION

The staff has tried to analyze the process by which a scientifically valid interpretation of the records about an individual child can be accomplished. Essential steps are described below as a series of specific tasks. It should be remembered, however, that the teachers in the study groups are still wrestling with the problem of interpretation, and further experimentation and experience may well modify the present analysis. This child-study program is really an exploratory study rather than a demonstration of fully validated procedure, and in this report we are simply trying to tell what we have learned up to this point. We also want to make clear that not all, perhaps not even a majority, of these teachers have developed thoroughgoing competence in carrying out each of the indicated steps toward interpretation.

Given an extensive collection of anecdotes and other material about a child, our analysis indicates that at least the following tasks remain to be done before a teacher can be reasonably certain that his interpretations of that child's motivation and behavior are sound:

1. Arranging the facts in accord with an organizing framework for information. The many facts about the child gleaned from anecdotes, home visits, and other teachers must be ordered or arranged in such a way that all are taken into account and can be seen in relation to one another.

2. Checking the facts. This arranged body of data must be examined to ferret out those facts which actually contradict each other, thereby indicating errors in the information and pointing to the need for further observation or investigation to uncover the truth. It must be noted here, however, that sometimes apparently contradictory patterns of behavior by a child are all substantiated and give most valuable insight into the child's

personality. For example, they may reveal that the inconsistent behavior grows out of internal conflicts or that it is due to contradictory or opposing influences that play upon a child from his two parents or from home and school.

3. Looking for clues and uncovering blind spots. The arranged body of verified facts must be examined with the purpose of noting important areas about which the information is too scanty to be of value. Then the teacher must decide whether some of the relatively obscure items actually may not be clues that point to the need for further information in certain areas that might turn out to be extremely significant. Especially will the teacher need to be on the lookout for clues to factors that he has had little opportunity to observe directly and to areas that his own "blindspots" or prejudices may have caused him to avoid or ignore.

4. Identifying and listing recurring situations and patterns of behavior. The arranged body of facts must be examined to discover recurring situations, recurring patterns of behavior, and recurring emotional reactions. These repeated patterns picture in part the normal healthy ways in which the child seeks and gets satisfaction and learns to live in his environing world. They also indicate the unresolved developmental tasks at which the child is working. Recurring emotional reactions also may indicate persisting unwholesome relationships and living conditions or enduring effects from earlier traumatic experiences or from previous unwholesome learning.

5. Spotting significant unique events. The arranged body of facts must be examined to discover unique occurrences, patterns of behavior, or emotional responses that were of great and continuing importance to the child in his development. These may be so-called "traumatic experiences" or they may be experiences in which new concepts or insights emerged with dramatic suddenness.

6. Forming a series of hypotheses to account for particular patterns of behavior. A teacher must try to figure out the causes that underlie each important pattern discovered. This can be done by analyzing the various situations in which the child be-

haved in a particular way in order to find the common factors associated with this way of acting. There may be a number of these common factors, so the next step is to form an hypothesis as to which factors among the larger number of circumstances actually caused the behavior in question. To do this one must turn to scientific generalizations and principles—for science has studied behavior under many circumstances, has verified many of its causes, has described many factors often associated with particular ways of acting, and has stated many generalizations or principles that explain how groups of factors cause people to behave as they do.

So when a teacher has anaiyzed the common factors in the various situations in which a child acted in a certain way he then seeks a principle that explains why the child behaves in that manner under those circumstances. Having found such an explanatory principle, he then assumes, for the time being, that he knows the cause of that particular pattern of behavior in the child—in other words, the teacher has formed an hypothesis. This is done in turn for each of the recurring patterns of action that have been observed and described in the child's record. It is apparent that, in order to form valid hypotheses, a teacher's mind must be well furnished with knowledge of the generalizations and principles that science has validated. Some of the most useful of these are those which explain how children grow and develop; how motives are generated; how behavior is related simultaneously to previous experiences, to the present situation, and to motives; the role of emotion in human life; the sequence of developmental tasks usually faced by children during different phases of the growth cycle; what physical conditions, inter-personal relationships, and experiences are most often associated with the wholesome development of children in American society.

7. Relating hypotheses about different patterns of behavior to each other in order to understand the child as an organized whole and as a developing personality. In the classroom one pattern of behavior follows another with great rapidity as a child reacts to the teacher's demands, his own wishes, the

attitudes of his classmates, his own physical process, and his remembrance of earlier experience. Sometimes these and other factors reinforce each other and produce consistent behavior; at other times they conflict with each other and evoke unexpected, inconsistent, or fluctuating patterns of activity or emotional outbursts. Most of our scientific principles, upon which a teacher's hypotheses as to the causes of particular patterns of behavior will be based, are relatively simple cause-effect generalizations. That is, they explain that under certain limited circumstances a given pattern of behavior will result. But actual life situations are seldom simple enough to be explained by a single principle—more often a large number of factors in the social situation and within the child are operating at the same time. The resulting behavior is therefore complex and requires the interrelating of a number of scientific generalizations in order to understand the causes of that behavior—for the child usually acts as an organized whole.

For example, it is not unusual to find that the behavior of a child described in a given anecdote can be understood only on the basis of a group of hypotheses that are based on generalizations relating to the following: the phase of the growth cycle reached by the child; the physical characteristics of the child; the quality of the active relationships between the child and a number of other persons including parents, siblings, peers, and the teacher; the family's economic situation and social place in the community; the child's developmental history; the combination of developmental tasks that he faces; and the adjustment problems confronting him. It follows that a sound interpretation of the child's behavior cannot be achieved simply by adding together the hypotheses relating to each factor. Instead, it is necessary to see that the child's body and mind organize the forces implied by these hypotheses and resolve them all into a related series of patterns of behavior.

8. Checking hypotheses against an organizing framework of explanatory principles in order to discover contradictory, oversimplified, or biased interpretations. When hypotheses are being formed, and particularly when a whole group of hypotheses are

being resolved into an interpretation of a child's behavior through a period of time, certain tendencies must be avoided. Teachers must recognize and guard against these predispositions which they share in common with the rest of mankind: the tendency to oversimplify the causes of a child's behavior by accepting one or two principles as accounting for everything; the tendency to avoid hypotheses that are embarrassing to the interpreter because they have application also in his own life; and the tendency to accept without adequate evidence the hypotheses that support one's own code of morality or social custom and that afforded true explanations of some aspects of one's own developmental history. Mistaken or biased interpretations often can be avoided by checking the hypotheses against a formal framework of scientific principles. Such a framework should enumerate the common range of factors and processes that influence the development and behavior of children in American society. Its regular use to check the scope and adequacy of hypotheses about individual children will prevent many wrong judgments.

9. Planning practical ways of helping children. The next task of this series is to use the hypotheses developed to explain a child's motivation and behavior as indicators of the conditions, interpersonal relationships, and experiences that will be of most help to the child in taking his next steps toward maturity. The hypotheses supply the diagnosis; that is, they define the teacher's professional tasks in relation to a given child. With a knowledge of the factors that are necessary to evoke appropriate behavior and stimulate the further development of this child a teacher can plan his work in detail. But this does involve recognizing that all of a child's developmental tasks are interdependent and cannot be dealt with one at a time or by procedures that do not take the others into consideration. It also implies that earlier traumatic experiences and unwholesome learning will be reckoned with as factors influencing present behavior and development. Again it means evaluating the wholesomeness of present conditions and interpersonal relationships not only in terms of their influence on present behavior but also in terms of their effects on further development.

10. Evaluating hypotheses and plans on the basis of the effects of practical attempts to help the child. The final task of this series is to study what happens to a child as a result of practical attempts to help him that grew out of hypothetical interpretations of his motivation and behavior. Frequently these efforts result in new situations and new behavior that throw much added light on the child's problems and offer new insight into his motivation. Earlier hypotheses and interpretations must often be revised on the basis of this new information and such revision in turn gives rise to superior plans for helping the child.

This analysis is *not* offered as a blueprint of procedure to be given teachers when they undertake their initial evaluations of a child's behavior. Doubtless it makes the task of interpreting a child's needs and developmental tasks seem a formidable process. Neither the consultants from the Commission nor the local leader presented any such frightening challenge to the teachers in the child-study groups. Rather we tried to help each teacher gradually to come to see the relationship between the facts she had gathered about an individual child and the scientific principles of human development she was learning. About twice a year each teacher would undertake a reinterpretation of the behavior and developmental tasks of the child she was studying. The steps outlined in the analysis above were distinguished gradually as teachers gained increasing confidence in their power to interpret. This increasing confidence, in turn, came as they discovered clear evidence of improved adjustment, accomplishment, and development in the children they were studying. Many teachers changed their ways of dealing with individual children and saw improvement and growth ensue. Many arranged classroom situations and engineered experiences and activities for rejected youngsters and saw them win a place in the group. Tendencies toward delinquency were sometimes checked, interests in school activities were renewed, and children showed increased zest for living as these teachers used their new knowledge and insight in planning and carrying on the work of the school. The analysis presented above would surely have discouraged them if offered as a blueprint of successive tasks they must complete in order to understand the children

they were studying. Yet most of the steps in the analysis were taken by some of the teachers, and all of them have made some progress toward using these or similar procedures in interpretation. Indeed, the analysis itself is largely the ordered description of actions these teachers found necessary to achieve valid interpretations of children's developmental progress.

IDENTIFYING RECURRING PATTERNS OF BEHAVIOR

As we felt our way with these teachers, one of the attempts to dispel the confusion that comes with large accumulations of anecdotes and information involved picking out recurring patterns of behavior and relationship that seemed especially significant. This process can be illustrated by the case of Lawrence presented at the beginning of this chapter. His teacher prepared the following list of recurring factors from her accumulated material about him.

1. Physical health factors
2. Mother-child relationship
3. Stepfather-child relationship
4. Brother-child relationship
5. Attitude toward new baby
6. Love for animals
7. Comparison of emotional behavior at home and school
8. Pupil-teacher relationship
9. Peer relationships
10. Bullying
11. Criticism of others
12. Giving things away
13. Relationships to opposite sex
14. Loud and noisy behavior
15. Restlessness
16. Constant change of activity
17. Attitudes toward money
18. Fairness
19. Honesty
20. Religion-church

21. Fear
22. Cleanliness

Larry's teacher also took an additional step to clarify the extent and nature of the information she had about him. She rearranged all the anecdotes and other information under the various topics in this list and in this manner got some estimate of how frequently the different factors appeared and of the extent to which Larry's life was permeated by one or another of his evident preoccupations. We shall illustrate this by reproducing her notes under six of the headings.

Physical health factors

Chronic appendicitis; appendectomy
Bad tonsils; should have been removed two years ago
Many heavy colds during winter; sinus headaches
Injury to rib
Hurt stomach on pipe
Inadequate nutrition; no lunch

Mother-child relationship

Larry's anxiety over mother's health
Larry evaded going to hospital
Larry does chores at home
Mother made gifts for Larry's teacher and friend's mother
Mother gave money for ticket to play
Mother gave Larry practical gifts at Christmas
Mother anxious about Larry; weeps and prays
Mother sends Larry out of house to avoid friction with stepfather
Mother anxious about Larry's friends
Mother neglected Larry's appendicitis pains until reminded by brother
Mother says Larry never falsifies
Mother says elder son is "mommer's boy"

Attitude toward new baby

Larry knew of baby's coming
Slow in announcing arrival of baby
Avoided going to hospital
Had to be asked about baby after it was brought home
"My father goes in and talks to it," etc.

"Baby cried all night and kept everybody awake but me"
 Announced birth of new baby to neighbors
 Brought snapshot of baby to school

Child-teacher relationship

Wanted to sit next to teacher
 Put hands against teacher's
 Brought present to teacher
 Often talked freely to teacher
 Asked teacher's advice about how to win friends
 Makes excuses to keep teacher nearby
 Enjoys joke on teacher; locker
 Jokes with teacher often; at play, "you make me laugh," etc.
 Borrows four cents from teacher and pays it back
 Kept showing teacher how clean his hands were
 Meets teacher at door each morning
 Teacher talked to class about "helping" Larry
 Asked teacher to call him Larry

Peer relationship

Wants to be called Larry like other Larrys in class
 Tried to make friends by loaning money
 Criticized work of other children
 Brought gift for Andrew's mother
 Protected other children for laughing when he fell on a stairs;
 said he laughed first
 Didn't cry before others when hurt
 Said, "I'm going out to fight somebody"
 Nonchalantly gave wheels for plane
 Insisted on buying sash for Andrew for Mexican dance
 Took child home and helped him with costume
 Andrew took him to mill and showed him where he was wrong
 Andrew reluctant about sash; spoke slightlying when Larry slid
 on floors
 Larry said, "Andrew doesn't like me anyhow"
 Larry sought older boys when out of school
 Children respected Larry's ideas
 Children remarked how peaceful it was without Larry
 Children loaned articles to Larry
 Renewed Larry's library books
 Unchosen on September friendship test; rejected by six
 Chosen by one on September work test; rejected by six
 Chosen by one on spring friendship test; rejected by four

Chosen by one on spring work test; rejected by four
See results of Guess-Who tests [Page 184 above]
Larry said, "I have no good friends, Miss S"

Fear

Cringed as though fearing blow from teacher
Pale and upset, but cocky and glib, at accidents he caused
Feared visit to principal's office
Worried over mother's illness
Perhaps feared to go to hospital
Feared inability to make and keep friends
Feared reformatory threat by father

The various facts and happenings seem to fall into better perspective when brought together under these thematic rubrics. It becomes easier to see the relationship between events, to sense the continuity of preoccupation and interest, to feel what Larry's life up to now has been like. It becomes easier, too, to ascribe different weightings to events in these various areas when the facts are ordered in this fashion. For example, the physical-health category quickly shows us a robust boy who needs to have his tonsils removed and to be fed more adequately. In contrast, the category on mother-child relationships leaves us in doubt as to whether Larry's mother really loves him or not—she does some nice things for him but she also neglects him. It is apparent that the relationship does not suffice to give Larry security. In "attitude toward new baby" we see assembled a sufficient group of anecdotes to show that Larry was somewhat disturbed at this threat to his family status, but no evidence of malice toward his tiny sister is apparent. In the child-teacher category we see Larry really successful and happy for the first time and get the impression of excellent rapport between the two. The peer-relationship category nearly exhausts the alphabet, it has so many listings. The items clearly show Larry rejected by the group but striving constantly to win a place, or failing that to humiliate or punish the individuals who refused belonging to him. The length of the listing indicates something of how important this area was to Larry. The fear category is interesting because every one of the fears related to a person—

a fact much more easily discernible when the information is organized in this fashion. It would not be correct, apparently, to label Larry as a boy often beset by fears, but there is evidence of a pattern of fear that reappears a number of times. It has to do with fear of rejection and of punishment; this theme certainly points to Larry's great need for security, love, and acceptance by other people. Clearly the arrangement of the anecdotal material under a series of headings suggested by recurring behavior greatly facilitated the process of interpreting this child's whole conduct.

THE CASE OF FRANK

In turning to the consideration of another child's behavior we start as usual with his teacher's general description: "Frank was twelve years and three months old when he and his classmates began to work with me in the fifth grade. A good looking boy with bright brown eyes, dark hair, and clear, dark complexion, he has dimples when he smiles. He usually keeps himself clean and neat. Frank appears to be very nervous and bites his fingernails, keeping his fingers in his mouth a great deal or picking at them. He laughs nervously when amused, sometimes swaying his body back and forth. He moves his body when he talks. Frank cries easily when he is mad, when his feelings are hurt, or when he feels sorry about something. Often he has a strained expression. He complains of frequent headaches and coughs a great deal; also has kidney trouble which necessitated his being on a diet for a while."

Observations, September and October

In the last week of September a friendship test was given to the group and a few weeks later a work-group test was given. From the friendship test I noted that Frank was a star of attraction in the group. He was chosen as a friend by nine boys. No one rejected Frank. He chose two boys, Ben and Baxter, as friends; they returned his choice. He chose a girl, Ellen, as a friend but received no choices from girls. On the work test Frank was again a star of attraction, receiving eight choices and no rejections. He chose four boys, Jack A and Joe C who reciprocated his choice, and Tommy and Ted.

In the room Frank seemed to make no difference in sexes. He

would work with girls as well as boys. He seemed to like to work with Sally particularly. Sally is probably the most talented girl in the group. He works nicely with Mary whom most of the boys reject. He never seems to mind by whom he sits in the circle. Some of the boys make quite a stir to keep from sitting by a girl, especially Gladys or Mary. On the playground Frank played ball with the boys, never giving the girls so much as a glance.

I do not understand why Frank did not name Sarah P as a person whom he would not choose as a friend. It is evident that he does not like her. I have heard him crossly tell her to mind her own business. Once he jerked a book away from Sarah during work period, telling her that she wasn't supposed to be reading, that she had another job to do. When I said something to Frank about it he said, "Well, she wasn't supposed to be doing that. She's always tending to somebody's business." Later, in a conversation with Mrs. W, I learned why Frank doesn't like Sarah P. Mrs. P works on the first shift, from eight o'clock in the morning until four in the afternoon. She brings Sarah by the W's as she goes to work in the morning, and comes for her as she comes from work in the afternoon. Sarah tells little things on Frank, greatly exaggerating. In turn, Mrs. P picks Frank to tell on Sarah. "Daddy" told Frank that it wasn't his business to tell anything on Sarah and for him not to know anything when Mrs. P asked. Mrs. P paid a dollar for Frank's kitchen fee because Mrs. W wouldn't take any money for keeping Sarah. Recently Mrs. P stopped sending Sarah to the W's because she and Ellis [Frank's brother, age 8] had a fuss and fight. Sarah stays with her father who works on second shift. I don't know why she didn't do this before.

Although Frank is outwardly kind to Gladys, inwardly he must reject her. Because she is covered with sores some of the boys (Joe D, Donald, and Johnnie) began calling her "Scabbie." Coming from the lunchroom one day Joe D walked very close to me as if for protection. Finally he said, "Frank said that he is going to get me." When I asked him why, Joe didn't seem to know exactly. Sure enough, Frank was "looking daggers" at Joe. I thought I would investigate when we got into the room. As the children sat down I was standing by Joe. Before I or anyone else knew what was happening, Frank reached behind me and socked Joe on the jaw. Frank looked up at me and said, "Nobody's going to call me 'Scabbie' and get by with it." Then he sat down and started studying his spelling. An awful silence fell over the group, which lasted for the rest of the day.

I found out later that some children thought Frank hit me when he struck Joe. Joe's mouth was bleeding so I helped him wash it out

and let him go home. Frank did not refer to the incident, nor did I; he went home with the rest of the group. Mrs. D, Joe's mother, came to see me after school. She said that she wanted me to know that Joe's mouth was not hurt badly and that she did not blame Frank for hitting him. She said that she would have gone to see Mrs. W but that people said that it wouldn't do any good, that she would just "cuss" her out. I told her that I had always found Mrs. W gentle and cooperative, but that I did not consider it necessary to talk with her about it. I never did refer to the matter to either Frank or Joe again, nor did I hear them mention it.

Whenever anyone is crying, Frank is sympathetic. If injustice has been done, he does something about it; if a larger child hurts a smaller one, he "takes it up" with the larger one. One day I took a "funny book" from Ted because it was interfering with the things he needed to do. Ted didn't ask for it before he went home. Later as I was getting ready to go home, I noticed Ted's "funny book" with my things and on a moment's impulse put it in the trash can. As soon as Ted came in the next morning he asked me for the book. I admitted that I had thrown it away. Ted started crying. Of course Frank had to investigate Ted's crying. Then he came to me to know if I had really destroyed Ted's book. When I told him that I had done so, he told me that he thought I was unfair and that the book wasn't Ted's, but that it belonged to his brother who is twenty years old. I told Frank that I had said I was sorry to Ted and was planning to go by in the afternoon to talk with his mother so that she would understand also. Frank was very agreeable and pleasant about it. He was especially kind to Ted all day.

A few weeks later when Sally became too absorbed in her paper dolls to do her required work, I asked her to let me keep them for a while. As I started to the locker with them, here came Frank asking, "Miss H, you're not going to tear them up, are you?" He was satisfied when I told him that Sally could have them again.

Anecdotal record

October 26: Frank seemed tired, complains of a headache. I discovered an interesting thing—he stays at night at the home of the B's, who live just behind his house. Mr. and Mrs. B work on the third shift at the mill. Frank stays all night with their son who is in second grade at our school. He is paid two dollars and a half a week for this service and also to care for their cow, goats, and chickens.

October 28: Frank looks bad. He wants to be excused often. Once when he came back to the room he put his head down on his table. One of the boys at his table told me that Frank wanted me. When I

went to him he was crying, said that his kidneys hurt. I asked him if he didn't want to go home but he said that he didn't. I asked if there was anything that I could do for him. That afternoon I went to see Mrs. W. She said that Frank had kidney trouble. She had sent him to the doctor last week. The doctor had given him a prescription. When she looked at it, she saw some woman's name on it instead of Frank's. She supposed the doctor had mixed the prescriptions so she threw it in the fire.

October 30: Frank was absent today. I saw Mrs. W at the Halloween carnival tonight. She said that Frank was in bed, that she thought he needed some medicine. Howard (Frank's brother, age 10) came up to ask her for some money. She said that Howard spent all the money he could get his hands on but that Frank was stingy, he wouldn't spend his money.

November 2: Frank was at school today but not feeling well. He sat around watching others during work period; said that the hammering hurt his head. Didn't feel like staying to read after school.

November 5: Frank was back at school today. Still looks ill but said that he felt better. His mother is giving him a tonic. He really has not felt like being at school. He went to sleep after lunch and slept until time to go home. I went by to see Mrs. W this afternoon to suggest that she have a doctor see Frank. I asked about the tonic. She said she was giving him a patent medicine. I told her that the medicine might not be good for Frank and insisted that she see a doctor.

November 9: Frank was at school today but is certainly no better. Why doesn't his mother keep him at home? He went to sleep early this morning. He had a strained, flushed look on his face. I insisted that he go home and sent a boy with him. Again I went by to see Mrs. W. She said that the doctor had been there. He said that the patent medicine was too strong for Frank, put him to bed, and said he'd be by to see him the next day. She guessed he had flu.

November 10-13: Frank was absent the remainder of the week. I went to see him Friday afternoon. He was sitting up; looked better.

November 19: It was cool and damp today. We decided that even if it were not raining that it would be better to stay inside than to go out to play. Frank fussed. When I reminded him that he had been sick and still had a bad cough, he argued. When we went down to the basement he was still contending that it was not too bad to play out of doors. I told him to go outside and decide for himself. If he wished to stay out it would be all right with me. He did go out but didn't stay. He didn't join in the game with us in the room but painted a picture. When we finished the game I noticed that Frank

was not through with his picture. I called his reading group together but did not ask Frank to stop painting, nor did he offer to stop. Later in the day he said he didn't see why I didn't let him read, that he needed as much help as anyone else. Whatever I attempted to say to him he answered unreasonably. I had to let the matter drop unsatisfactorily settled to me. After school I tried to help Frank see that he looked at some things from one side, and that often we can't decide about things until we have looked at all sides. If he was convinced, he left without letting me know it.

November 20: Frank came in smiling and saluting this morning. He began working on a toy train. Joe had wanted to help him but Frank said he wanted to work alone. He has worked well and played well all day. When a group of boys and I were talking about "growing up" and "being like daddy," Frank said, "I don't want to be like my daddy. All he thinks about is hunting."

November 23-25: Frank has been terribly upset about his drill work lately. He feels that he is making no progress. He has cried several times about not being able to read or spell. Once he accused me of not helping him enough. I didn't know just what to think about Frank's being so upset about drill work. I realized his incapability and certainly was not making him feel failure or discouragement. Perhaps he realized that he was a leader in some respects but could not be in an academic way.

It happened that Mrs. W came to school Wednesday morning to ask that Frank be allowed to come home for lunch as the doctor had put him on a diet for his kidneys. I took this opportunity to talk with her about his drill work. She said that Daddy had been worrying Frank about not being able to read. He had bought those books (*Brittanica*) and he wanted the children to use them. Tears came in her eyes when she said that Daddy had been fussing at Frank constantly lately. Frank still doesn't feel well and Daddy just couldn't stand him just lying around. After school, when Frank stayed for me to help him with reading, we tried to measure his progress in drill work since school started in the fall. Frank really beamed over his accomplishments. He is looking forward to a hen for Thanksgiving dinner and to the annual [local] football game. Took his basket home for Thanksgiving present for his mother.

November 30: Frank came in smiling to tell me about his disappointment. He got sick Thanksgiving Day and was unable to go to the game or to eat any Thanksgiving dinner. The B's, however, invited him to dinner on Sunday and had chicken.

December 4: Frank has been pleasant and happy all week. He was pleased that Ellen gave him some yarn to make his mother a pair of yarn dolls to wear on her coat.

December 11: Frank didn't come this morning. The children were excited over an accident his father had had during the night. When they learned that Frank was staying at home to keep Chester [Frank's brother, age 5] so that Mrs. W could be at the hospital with Mr. W, they asked if Chester might come to school so Frank could come. Dean went for them. Frank seemed pleased that we were willing to keep Chester so that he could come to school. He told us about his father's accident and that he had to clean the blood out of the car.

December 14: Frank came in laughing about his visit to the hospital. The "sisters" amused him in their long robes. His father is better.

December 15: Frank was absent today because he had to go to the farm to get some hay for his father. His brother-in-law took him.

December 18: Frank is looking forward to Christmas holidays. He hopes that his father will be able to come home next week. He is expecting a football for his Christmas present. He carefully and artistically wrapped his Christmas present for his mother.

January 4: Frank seemed glad to be back at school after the holidays. He was proud to show us the football which he had received for Christmas. He asked me to help him write a story which was about fun while learning to skate. He said that he didn't have skates but his friend Hamilton let him use his.

January 5: Frank has enjoyed everything at school today. He continues to stay after school for me to help him with his reading. It is when he stays after school that he talks to me. He says that his father is getting along fine and will soon be able to go back to work.

January 7: Frank told me that he is not staying at the B's now because an aunt has come to live with them. He is beginning to tease the girls at play period.

January 8: Frank helped check the lunch money this morning. He was proud of his accuracy and of a practical use of multiplying by two numbers. Noticed him running after Ellen and some girls today.

January 12: Frank went with us to the junior-entertainment program, *Rip Van Winkle*. He enjoyed the play, particularly the little man of the mountain.

January 13: Frank painted a picture of Rip Van Winkle asleep and the little man of the mountain watching him. Sally helped him. She didn't attend the play, but evidently Frank told her about it. At last we have obtained a pencil sharpener which we had wanted for a long time. When we were discussing where to place the pencil sharpener, most of the children suggested our work corner. Ellen suggested that we put it behind the lockers where it wouldn't show, because that's where Mrs. M puts hers. Frank thought it would be

nice to put it at the door where anyone in school could use it easily. It was a good one and he thought we ought to share it. His suggestion was the one that was taken.

January 14: The time to choose new council members has come. Frank explained to the group that he and Ellen had served their time, so it would be necessary to vote for new members. Frank received the most votes. We had to explain again that he would not serve as our representative again, but someone must replace him. Tommy, a friend of Frank's, was chosen.

January 18: Frank has a headache. He is anxious to have his eyes examined. I am going to make an appointment this afternoon.

January 19: Frank says that his father is back at work. The first thing he told me this morning was that his mother had broken her false teeth. Continues to "pick at" girls during play time.

January 20: The boys didn't play regular football today, just played kicking it back and forth to each other. I noticed that Frank stood alone at one end and kicked it to the other boys. Of course it meant that he kicked it more than anyone else. Several boys dropped out, saying it was no fun because they didn't get to kick much.

January 21: Frank enjoyed our listening lesson in music today. He liked the story of the *Peer Gynt Suite* and listened attentively to the music accompanying it. His comments on the music were good. Worried girls at play time.

January 22: I took Frank to have his eyes examined. He seemed very nervous about it. The doctor found a little eyestrain, but not enough to warrant his wearing glasses. Thinks perhaps his headaches may be due to infected tonsils. Recommends that they be removed. Frank seemed relieved that he did not need glasses but asked me if his tonsils were really poisoning him.

January 25: Frank proudly wore his dark-colored glasses to school today so the children could see them. The group listened eagerly to his telling about his examination.

January 26: Frank's head has hurt him very badly today. He hasn't felt like working but has kept his head down on his table most of the day. When I suggested that he go home for a while, he cried. He didn't stay after school for his help in reading.

January 28: During work period I noticed Joe D—a large boy—and Dean—a small boy—both holding on to a tube of paste. I was watching out of the corner of my eye because I wanted them to settle it themselves if possible. But here came Frank (who is smaller than Joe D, too), knocked Joe on the shoulder with his fist, took the paste, and handed it to Dean. To everything I said to Frank about it not being necessary for him to interfere, he would say that he

wasn't going to let a big boy pick on a little boy. Frank went on with his painting. When we were cleaning up, he held up his hand for me to come see his picture. I was busy helping Johnnie with a block print, and I didn't go at once. Frank tore his picture in two, put it in the trash can, cleaned up his paints, and sat down. I imagine that Frank thought I was mad with him about the earlier experience so wouldn't come to look at his picture. I simply said to him that I was sorry that he tore up his picture for it looked good to me. He didn't answer. He didn't help with our discussion as he usually does, but talked to the person next to him. He walked heavily down the stairs when we went to the music room. He talked while we were trying to sing. He seemed unsettled when his group read and complained that the story was not a good one.

I think Frank felt better after play period and wanted to do things in a more pleasant way, but the bothered teacher failed to respond. He worked hard and quietly on his spelling (without being asked to do so) while another group read. He wanted me to approve and to realize that he was doing his part now. When he showed me his paper, I just nodded, said nothing, and didn't even answer his look with a smile. Frank glowered again and began fussing to himself and to his table. I wouldn't look at his picture, I didn't think he could paint, I wouldn't let him read, I wouldn't help him with spelling. I ignored his fussing. When we were trying to do arithmetic, his fussing became so annoying that we could not do our work. I was tired of Frank's fussing and I thought that I had ignored it long enough. I was afraid that in his mood he might want to argue, so I wrote a note to his mother saying that Frank did not feel well and I thought it best for him to come home until he felt like doing things pleasantly with the class. I called him out of the room, read the note to him and told him to take a while to think about things. When I came into the room without Frank, the children asked where he was. When I told them he had gone home, Dean said, "But he'll be back, won't he?" The class seemed glad when I told them he would be back when he felt better.

January 29: Frank came in quietly this morning. Dean threw his arms around him and said how glad he was to see him. Everyone seemed glad to see him. Joe C asked him to work with him, but he refused, saying that he wanted to paint again the picture he ruined yesterday. Then he walked over to me, opened his mouth to say something and burst out crying. I tried to make him realize that everything was all right and soon he was at work. In a little while Mrs. W came up. She said that Frank told her he had been rude yesterday and she wanted to see me about it. She just couldn't imagine what

got into Frank. He had been so good at home lately, he loved to come to school, loved the teacher, he was eager to learn, and had told her that he had learned so much, and so forth. I told her not to worry about it, that I thought I understood why Frank was so unpleasant and I was sure that things would be quite all right now.

Frank was an ideal pupil all day. When he stayed for me to help him with his reading, he said that he was sorry about yesterday. He said, "I thought you would talk to me and that would settle it. But you were mad at me, and I don't want you ever to be mad at me again." I told him that when I did talk with him he didn't try to see things clearly; perhaps it would be better for him to talk with me first, when there was a misunderstanding, that I didn't like for him to be mad with me either. During the day Ben got sick, vomited in the hall. Frank was kind to Ben, comforting him, bringing cool water to bathe his face. He offered to go home with him. Helped clean up afterward.

February 2: I have been noticing lately that Frank showed that he liked Ellen. He will maneuver around until he gets his chair by hers in the circle. He talks with her during work period, he playfully teases her and her friends at play time. Today Frank left his table, took his chair to Ellen's table to study spelling. I don't know why I made any comment. I was not thinking about his wanting to be near Ellen, but I said, "Frank, why do you want to come over here to study?" He gathered up his books and noisily went back to his table, looking mad. In a second I went up to him, saying that I didn't mind his sitting at the other table if he wanted to. He said he didn't want to sit over there; he just wanted to sit by Tommy and that I thought he wanted to sit by Ellen. He wished people would quit teasing him about Ellen; it made him mad. I didn't make a direct comment on what he said, but told him that Tommy had asked the day before to sit at his (Frank's) table and would he like for Tommy to move. Frank said, yes he would, but he didn't want any girls at his table. Tommy is at Frank's table, and no girls.

February 5: Everyone was getting ready to go home. Frank was putting on his coat; he opened up his notebook to get out his arithmetic homework to stick in his back pocket. Suddenly he tore it in two, kicked over his chair; then picked it up, sat down, put his head on the table, and started crying. Very quietly I asked Tommy if he knew what was wrong. He said that someone had written on his paper, "Frank loves Ellen." As soon as the children were gone, I picked up Frank's torn paper and put it in the waste basket. Then I sat down and copied his homework for him. When I finished I gave it to him, saying, "I'm sorry you tore up your paper, I've copied it

for you." He raised his head and managed to say, "Thank you." He dried his eyes on the backs of his hands and said, "I'm sorry I did like that but I got mad when I saw Ellen's name on my paper." I said, "I love Ellen; I think everybody likes her. You do like her, don't you?" "Yes'm," he said. "Well, it just doesn't help to get that mad about it. Someone will want to tease you again, I imagine." He seemed to feel all right about it.

February 8: Frank and Ellen came in this morning telling me what a good time they had at a skating party during the weekend. Mrs. W was at our PTA meeting tonight.

February 9: I had to ask the boys at Frank's table to stop talking. Frank said, "We're just talking to Jack A. He doesn't know how to take anything. If anybody touches him he wants to run to you. Tommy just touched him on the shoulder and he wanted to tell you." Then he said to Jack, "If anybody just punches you like that" (and he hit Tommy on the arm), "they don't want to fight, they just do it in a friendly way and you're supposed to knock them back." Mrs. W came in after school to visit with me. She brought a satin cover with a mother acrostic on it, which Joe [Frank's brother, age 18] had sent her for her birthday, which would be on Monday. She also had some kodak pictures of him to show. She stayed about an hour. She told me about Frank's illness when he was a baby. I am recording it elsewhere in the record.

February 10: Frank worked with Mary on hand puppets this morning. He worked nicely with her and didn't seem to mind doing it. Mary is unpopular with the group, especially with the boys. She is always unchosen if there is any choice to be made. He asked to take his block print to his mother for a birthday present.

February 12: Frank enjoyed our valentine party. He could hardly wait for Ellen to draw his valentine. Every little while he was asking if she had drawn his valentine and saying how pretty it was. Frank received more valentines than anyone in the group—over thirty. He thoroughly enjoyed each one. Being unable to read them himself, he brought them to me to read to him. I couldn't help but notice his genuine pleasure as I read each one to him. I heard him personally thank each one in the class for his valentine with some appropriate remark about the picture or verse. Our grade mother sent each child in the room a valentine. Frank seemed to appreciate the fact very much and at once wanted to write her a letter to say "thank you." He was pleased that Chester received so many and thanked some of the children for him.

February 15: Frank came in with a big turkish bath towel this morning. He clicked his heels and saluted as he entered the room.

He said that he brought the towel to school to use. I commented on how clean and white it was. He said that he washed it himself; it is the one he takes up to the "Y" on Saturdays to take a shower. We wrote letters to Mrs. C, our grade mother, thanking her for our valentines. In his letter Frank said, "If you have anything that you need a boy to do, just call on me." When we took the letters to Mrs. C, she apologized for her porch being so dirty. Frank said, "I'll be glad to scrub it for you some time. You read my letter and see what it says." Today was Mrs. W's birthday. Frank took her a block print he had made.

February 16: Frank has been thoughtful and helpful all day. I heard Ben ask Frank to help him with his picture. I suggested to Ben that he try to work on it alone. Later Frank complimented Ben's picture to the whole group. Often he says nice things about others' work. He will say, "I think Elmer did a good job on —." When I visited at Ellen's home this afternoon, she told me Frank had called her up on the telephone. She seemed pleased. Ellen has a telephone. I wonder where Frank called from.

February 17: Today was a short day in the classroom. We dismissed children at one thirty for a teachers' meeting. We visited the county nurse to be vaccinated and also visited the library truck. I felt that we could do without playtime, but had not said so. When we started to the library truck, Frank said softly to me so that no one else heard: "We aren't going to have play period, are we?" I told him how I felt about it and added, "Is it all right?" "Oh yes," he replied, "we don't really need it." I was so glad he didn't fuss. When we returned to our room from the vaccination clinic, Frank said, "I think it was kind of the Red Cross to vaccinate us free." I heard no other child voice any appreciation.

February 18: Frank seems to appreciate kindness in others. He told me one day that he liked Mrs. S—his second-grade teacher—because she was kind. During clean-up time following our work time, Frank finished his job quickly and sat by me in the circle. He said that he thought everyone ought to like Gladys because she was so kind and helpful; that she was always willing to do more than her share of the work; that she always volunteered so willingly for any housekeeping duties. Gladys is an unattractive girl, covered with sores. People just don't enjoy having her around. She is especially unpopular wth the boys. Often some of them are rude to her. Frank is always kind to Gladys. He doesn't seem to mind sitting by her.

February 19: Frank has felt bad all day. He told me that his Sunday school class is planning a George Washington party for Monday night. He is George Washington in the play.

March 1: Frank seemed glad to be back in school today after his week's holiday. He announced that he is having his tonsils removed on Thursday morning.

March 2: Frank painted a picture today of Icarus and Daedalus with their wings. He has been pleasant about everything. Stayed after school as usual for reading.

March 3: Frank seemed to want to make the most of today, as he is going to the hospital tomorrow to have his tonsils removed. He helped Ellen with her soap carving during work period. He brought his kodak (or rather his mother's) to school and we took pictures during playtime period. He took one of Ellen alone. He had me take one of him alone. He didn't stay this afternoon for help with reading—seemed anxious to get home to get ready for tomorrow. Told me several times that he couldn't eat any breakfast in the morning.

March 4: Frank had his tonsils removed at nine o'clock this morning. Mr. W and Mrs. L (Frank's half sister) went with him. They stayed with him until one o'clock. Mrs. W went to be with him a while at four o'clock. I went by to see Frank about six o'clock. I gave him his letters; he seemed pleased to get them but didn't say anything. He was feeling bad and didn't talk much. I asked Mrs. W to go home with me for supper. She did. She said she "enjoyed herself" and I think she did. She told me then of her early life and of her meeting Mr. W.

March 5: I stopped by the hospital on my way from school. Again Frank had letters from his friends. He was sitting up, feeling much better. I read the letters to him which he enjoyed. He asked me to read Joe C's letter twice because it was so funny. I took Frank a nickel cup of ice cream. He offered me some of it but I didn't care for it. I didn't notice him ring the bell, but a nurse appeared and asked if he had rung. "Yes'm," he said, "I want a saucer and a spoon so I can share my ice cream with Tommy." (Tommy was a little boy in the room adjoining Frank's.) The nurse said, "You don't have more than you can eat; I think I can find some for Tommy." Frank told me about everyone in the hospital and why they were there (a small hospital—ear, eye, nose clinic). He said that he had had a good time today watching the squirrels play in the trees.

March 8: Mrs. W thought that it was too cold for Frank to come out this morning. The children asked about him as they came in and seemed disappointed that he wasn't at school. During clean-up period Joe C whispered to me that he would like to go to see Frank when we had play period. I allowed him to do this for he does not live near Frank. When I was beginning to wonder if I should send

for Joe, he came in with Frank. "Well," he beamed, "I just had to bring him back." The boys crowded around him, all talking at once. I silenced them long enough to let them get to the circle and all talk together. They enjoyed Frank's story of his hospital experience—pitied me that I had never had an operation. When Frank left he said that he would probably be late the next day, too. The doctor had told him not to get cold so he would wait until it had warmed up. Mrs. W came to PTA tonight. She said she was tired, for she had just done the family washing that day. The speaker urged parents to give their children a quart of milk a day. She (Mrs. W) told me that she was going to try to get Frank a quart of milk a day. They have sold their cow.

March 10: Frank has been very quiet today. He has had little to say. He remained in room during play time. He looked as if he felt very bad. When I asked him if he wouldn't like to go home he said, "No ma'am, I don't feel very good but I don't want to miss any school."

March 11: Frank and Ellen painted a spring picture together this morning. They talked very softly together as they worked; did not speak to me or anyone else during entire work period. After school he told me that he wanted to tell me something. He said that his sister heard Sarah's mother tell someone at the mill that he "cussed" me and that he wanted me to know that it wasn't so. He said, "I think I've been rude to you sometimes, but I never have 'cussed' you." I told him then that Mrs. P had told me that he had told her that Sarah did not bring her lunch and milk money to me, but bought something else. "Wasn't that tattling?" He said, "But she asked me so I had to tell her." I suggested that he take his father's advice and tell Mrs. P to come to me. For if he had something to tell on Sarah then she would tell something on him. (Sarah has told several untruths to her mother about school affairs.)

March 15: Frank has worked well and quietly in the room. He had charge of our devotional time; told quite well about his Sunday school lesson. He asked that the boys be allowed to choose sides in the room before they went outside to play. He took charge. He and Donald chose sides. The boys seemed to enjoy the game. When Miss E came in to ask that someone take a notice around for her, Frank asked to be chosen. I told him that he helped in so many ways and had already done one errand outside of the room that I should like to choose someone else. He said, "That's all right," and went back to his reading. This afternoon he asked me to help him write a story. It was about riding to his brother-in-law's farm Sunday afternoon with the brother-in-law, his daddy, and Chester. He was telling about the things he saw on his ride.

March 16: Frank enjoyed everything at school today. He worked well and quietly. He asked me if I could help him write a letter after school. Of course I was glad to do it. The letter was to Mrs B's brother who is a soldier. Donald brought in a robin this morning. He had thrown rocks at it and injured its wing. Frank said, "I'm sorry you did that, Donald. I used to think it was fun to kill little birds but I don't think so now." Frank has washed his hands, arms, face, and combed his hair at least three times today.

March 17: Ted was telling us about hearing birds singing as he awoke this morning. Then I told of some pretty flowers I had seen in a yard. Soon we were all talking about the lovely beginnings of spring. Frank described how Mrs. B's home and yard looked last summer with so many flowers blooming. He said that a picture was taken of her flowers and put in the paper last summer. "Boy! I sure was proud of that picture, because I had worked on that yard and in those flowers." Tommy asked him why he had worked in them. "To make money, of course. I worked all summer in gardens, scrubbing floors, tending to cows. I made \$24. I bought a bond and these shoes. I'm saving up now for another bond. I buy all of my clothes. You don't want to play all the time. When you grow up and work in the mill, you don't just sit, you work for your money." Frank wanted to paint a picture all day but it seemed as though he just couldn't get to it. He stayed after school to do it—an autogiro, blue and yellow, with a pilot standing by, ready to go up.

March 19: During work period and at every free moment in the day's program Frank has been painting. He said that he wished he could be an artist when he is grown, but he guessed he'd just work in the mill. Ellen was back at school today after an absence on account of mumps. Every time the whole group was in the circle, Frank sat by Ellen. (I heard her ask him to sit by her one time.)

Joe C stayed after school to hang his model airplane. Frank stayed to help him. They had a good time talking. Joe told how he teased his sisters. Frank said, "Boy, I don't tease my little sister because I know what I'd get!" Then they talked about working at home. Joe said that he had to bring in kindling and sometimes wash dishes. That sometimes he didn't half do the dishes and had to be called back. He got twenty-five cents a week for helping at home. Frank said he and Howard took week about washing dishes. That he made up two beds every day, swept the front room every day, and scrubbed the floors every Friday. But he didn't get any pay for what he did at home, it was just what he was supposed to do. He said that he always washed the dishes clean because he liked for them to be clean. He said, too, that he made his money by working for other people, especially the B's. Then Frank decided he would talk to me a while.

He said that Mrs. B was going to have a party Saturday night and he was going to help her. He was going to scrub floors and clean the furniture this afternoon. Then Saturday morning he was going to town to buy cookies for her and help her serve refreshments. He laughed when I asked him about the games. He said, "I'm not going to the party. It's a shower and just women will be there. Mr. B and I will sit in the other room and talk." When the teacher's crowd came by to say they were ready to go home, Frank said, "I wish you didn't have to go, but I guess I ought to be going anyhow because I have so much to do." I told Joe to hurry because the other teachers were waiting for me. He wanted to know if he couldn't leave the stepladder in the room. I said, "I think it will be all right." Frank said, "I don't think so. I think we'd better put it back where we got it, so if the janitor wants it he'll know where to get it."

March 22: Frank seemed disappointed in his airplane frieze today. He said if he had just left one plane out it would look better. The boys continued their ball game with the same sides. I noticed that, with the exception of Ben, Frank had chosen the smaller boys in the room on his side. He bossed his team. When Harold wanted to do something which would be an advantage to their side (have a catcher, I believe), Frank wouldn't let him because, he said, "We have more players than the other side (some were absent on the other team) and they can't have one, so it wouldn't be fair." Ted just couldn't hit the ball, so of course made outs whenever it came his turn to bat. Frank was good natured about it, would slap him on the back laughingly, saying, "Boy, what're we going to do with you?" He asked me to umpire the game, seemed pleased that I knew what to do with my hands, was willing to abide by my decisions. But Frank is never ready to stop playing. As usual he begged to play a little longer. He wasn't cross about it, as he sometimes has been. Often today he has given someone a punch as he passed them. He seemed to enjoy rhythms more than any other boy in the room. He has good ideas, but does not always keep good time.

March 24: When Frank came in this morning, he told me that he didn't feel good. He worked only a short time during work period; sat down and watched Ben. During play time he was again cross with the boys; again they were good natured about it. When he went in he started fussing about not finishing their game. I tried to console him by saying that we would have to come out some time and stay a long time and have a real game. He didn't respond; he remained cross and fussy and succeeded in getting Jack fussy with him. Later in the day he handed me this note:

Dear Miss H, I feel bad. My hade aechs. I am going to do better.

He tried to do better, but he did his work halfheartedly and sometimes was cross about it. He didn't seem to care much about having his picture taken. I told the class about an airplane kite which I had seen in a store window the night before. Several boys said that they were going in to see it when they went to town on Saturday and maybe buy it. Frank said, "I never buy anything to play with with my money. I have to buy clothes."

March 25: Frank was excited at the beginning of our rhythm period. He made silly movements and not in response to the record. He fell twice which did not seem accidental. Finally I called him aside, asked him to sit and listen to the next record. I told him if he was not willing to listen to the music when he was up "doing" rhythms, he would have to continue to sit. He seemed calm, took an active part for the rest of the period. He planned the activities for one record and led the group. Again today he was cross with the boys at playtime. They seemed to resent his crossness but didn't say much more than, "Oh, Frank, don't fuss."

March 30: Frank was sweet and thoughtful all day. He seemed unusually nervous. He chewed on his fingers all day; had a strained, faraway look. I helped him individually with some arithmetic this afternoon. He didn't seem to be able to concentrate at all. Once when I tried to call his attention back to his arithmetic, as I noticed his staring into space, he jumped as though I might have hit him. I decided to stop helping him at that time, since he seemed so nervous, so I asked him if he wouldn't like for me to give him some subtraction to work on at home. He said, "Yes'm, if I have time to do it; I have lots of work to do." In the morning Mrs. W came in, stayed about forty-five minutes. She said that she had been "somewhere" and since she was dressed up thought she would stop by to see us. While she was there, I called Frank's reading group. She came up in the circle, too, and the children gave her a book. She seemed to enjoy the lesson. Frank read very nicely. He showed his mother different things he had done in the room.

March 31: During work period Frank and Grace began working on curtains for our puppet theater. They seemed to enjoy working together. The boys had a ball game with the other fifth-grade group today. Frank took charge. Everyone played the positions he told them to play. He seemed to enjoy the game. All day he has worked well and quietly.

April 1: Frank hemmed his curtain wrong, but good-naturedly ripped it out and started over. He seemed thrilled over the announcement that we would do the Mexican dance in the parade of youth this year. He enjoys rhythms. He asked Ellen to be his partner. After school he asked me if I knew why Ellen was mad with him.

Of course I didn't know she was mad. "I haven't done anything to her but she's mad," he said. He read to me as usual after school. Then he stretched a little and said, "Well, I would like to stay and talk a while, but I've got work to do." Later, as I was leaving the school building, Frank came along on his way to the store. We walked along together. He was going to the store to buy garden seeds. He had finished cleaning off the garden. He was still laughing at the joke which I had played on the class this morning. This morning when the group was getting ready to go out to play, I told them quite seriously to sit down and get out their notebooks. Someone asked, "We aren't going to play?" I shook my head, "No." Frank looked up questioningly but said nothing. Then I wrote in big letters on the board, "April Fool." As Frank went out he said, "That's the best joke I've ever had played on me."

April 2: Frank and Grace finished their curtains and hung them. They were proud to show them to the group and the device for pulling them. The class liked them. During work period Frank pulled a folded-up piece of paper from his pocket, saying, "I almost forgot to give this to you." On the paper there were three notes, which I am copying just as he had written:

Dere Miss H, I do not now how to Divide. Will you help me to do it to morrow when I gide my work don?

love, your frinde,
Frank

Miss H,

Will you help me whith a sters tomorrow. I will pracllers it.

Your friend,
love
Frank

(He was asking me to help him write a story. The story was about his little sister wiggling a tooth at him.)

Dear Miss H,

Will you ast Ellen if sher is mate at me and tell me ples.

Frank

Later Frank said, "Will you answer my note?" I answered all his notes. He seemed pleased that Ellen was not mad with him. When we were choosing classroom jobs for the next week, Sally said, "I haven't had a job in over two weeks." Frank said, "You ought to volunteer for jobs." So Sally volunteered. Frank said that he hated that we were having holiday next week. He likes to come to school. He brought his trunks to school to practice for track. After he practiced he took a shower. When he came in the room, he said, "I had such a good bath, I won't have to take one tomorrow." Jack

said, "Well, it wouldn't hurt you, would it?" Frank laughed when he said no.

April 12: Frank said that he was glad to be back at school after his week's holiday. He spent most of his time working in the B's garden and in his own family's. He says that he is going back to the B's to spend the night as the aunt is leaving. On Saturday night he skated at the "Y." He and his "good friend" (as he expressed it) Hamilton (who is in the seventh grade) walked home with some girls. All of the girls were older than the two boys—were in high school. He again expressed the wish that he was twenty and in the navy.

Frank was dirty this morning and his hair was uncombed. This condition is unusual for Frank. Not even once did he go to the mirror and look at himself or "spruce up." Shortly after he came in, he told me that he sure didn't feel good but that nothing hurt him. He was listless and uninterested in any activities. He usually responds actively to rhythms; today he just didn't seem to care. When I said something jokingly to him about his spelling, trying to "pep him up," he cried. He had gone to bed at a reasonable hour, said that he slept well. In talking with him I found no clue as to anything upsetting happening at home.

Mrs. W attended PTA tonight. She said that Frank worked very hard during the holiday. When I told her that he didn't seem to feel well today, she said that his kidneys were bothering him again she believed, and that she would send a specimen to the doctor tomorrow. When I asked Frank to remove his feet from the table, he did so but remarked, "It's so comfortable sitting like that."

April 14: Frank enjoyed playing the part of Epaminondas in our puppet show. He laughed loudly at a boy who was awkwardly trying to jump rope during rhythms. Again during reading when Donald pronounced a word in a funny way, all of us smiled—including Donald—but Frank laughed loudly and nervously.

April 19: Frank was in a hurry to leave school this afternoon as he had promised to cut grass for someone. He brought me a picture of himself and also one of Chester.

April 20: Frank brought some kodak pictures of Joe for me to see. Sat with his chair leaning back against lockers. This has become a characteristic pose.

Supplementary information

In February a second group of tests (friendship and work) was given to the grade. Frank maintained his position as the star of attraction among the boys on both charts. Six boys chose him as a friend;

no one rejected him. Frank chose Jack A and Tommy, both of whom chose him. He also chose two girls, Ellen and Patsy, but no girl chose him. On the work test Frank received seven votes choosing him as a work partner. Two of these votes were from girls, Ellen and Sally. Again Frank chose Ellen and Patsy. He did not choose Sally although he chooses her to work with often. He chose two boys, Dean and Tommy, who also chose him. He received no unfavorable choices.

On the Guess Who test given the latter part of April, Frank received more votes than anybody else in class on the following items: "restless" 14, "talkative" 13, "plays active games" 17, "plays and talks with girls" 15. He also voted for himself on each of these items except "restless." In addition to these items, on which almost everybody agreed, Frank voted for himself as showing a number of additional characteristics. They are listed below along with the number of other children who also voted for him on each item: "works quietly" 1, "knows how to start games" 4, "always has a good time" 3, "always cheerful and good natured" 2, "sad or worried" 1, "keeps himself neat and tidy" 0, "likes a good joke" 3, "never fights" 2, "is not bossy" 1, and "is friendly" 2.

During the first week of school Frank and Ben made more contributions to the group than any of the other members. At once I noticed that the children listened with pleasure to Frank but closed Ben's remarks with, "He's just trying to show off." Both boys were making worthwhile contributions and I did not consider that either one was showing off.

Our usual custom is to have our devotional or appreciation time after playtime. We place our chairs in the circle before we go out to play so that we will be ready when we come in. There is a little stool in the room that floats around wherever one wants to use it. They love to sit on it at my feet during devotionals or appreciation time. One day when we came in from our playtime, I left about half the group in the hall getting water, and I walked into the room behind the other children. A number of children were fussing over the stool, so I told them that no one could sit on it and it was put down near me in the circle. As other children ambled in and started to the stool, someone would ward them off saying that I had said no one could use it. Frank was the last one to come in for he had asked to be excused. He went straight to the stool and sat down. Several said, "Miss H, let Frank sit on the stool." I explained to Frank what had happened, whereupon he moved to a chair. I believe, however, that no one in the class would have objected to his sitting on the little stool.

Mrs. W said that she flooded when Frank was born. It was the

only time she had ever done like that. Of course she was very frightened. When Frank was six weeks old he had a severe illness. Mrs. W sat down to nurse him when she noticed that he couldn't open his mouth. She tried to stick her finger in his mouth to pry it open. She could feel that his tongue felt thick. He would primp up his mouth to cry but couldn't. She called her stepdaughter, Marguerite, and sent her for a neighbor. Very soon the house and yard were swarming with people giving her advice and saying that he had paralysis, etc. Marguerite was screaming and "Daddy had gone fishing. Daddy is always hunting or fishing when something happens." The family doctor was out of town so a neighbor called a baby specialist. He said that he couldn't come out, for them to bring the baby to his office. Soon Mr. W came in with his leg injured. He had run a wire up his foot and his leg was swelling "something terrible." He was frightened when he saw all the people, thinking that something had happened to Mrs. W. He sent for his daughter and son-in-law to take Mrs. W to the doctor. (A neighbor fixed a poultice of mashed beets for Mr. W's foot. He was unable to walk for several days.)

The doctor found a rising in Frank's ear and under his tongue. He lanced them. Mrs. W tells of the "cupfuls" that poured out. It hurt her to think that the baby had been suffering so and hadn't cried. Frank was a good baby and she knew he had suffered. The doctor was afraid that Frank would be deaf in his left ear. Then Frank began losing weight. The doctor found that his mother's milk was not agreeing with him. Mrs. W said that it was because she was so nervous and upset about his condition. They had a time finding food for Frank. When the doctor told her to try him on condensed milk, she didn't know that it should be diluted and nearly killed him. Finally they settled on a particular brand of canned milk and he started gaining. Frank had mumps when he was five years old. When he was seven he had measles and chicken pox. At the age of nine he had whooping cough. Frank weighed eighty-five pounds and measured sixty and a quarter inches tall in October (fifth grade). The following May he weighed ninety-five pounds and was sixty-two inches tall.

The family is made up of the father (age 58), the mother (age 39), and eight children of whom Frank is the fourth. There are also two stepbrothers and five stepsisters between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-five, all of whom are married and live in the community. Frank has six own brothers: Herbert, twenty-one; Joe, eighteen; Robert, sixteen; Howard, ten; Ellis, eight; Chester, five. His sister Maude is six and one older brother died at the age of two months. In the fall only Mr. W worked. He runs the elevator at the A factory

on the second shift. He provides for his family the bare necessities of life but few luxuries. He and his brother have a farm which furnishes fruit and vegetables for canning. He keeps a cow and some chickens. Since Christmas Herbert has also been working as well as going to college.

The house consists of four rooms, three bedrooms and a kitchen. The front bedroom, which they use for a living room also, is sparsely furnished. The room was clean but not attractively arranged. There were a number of pictures of the dime-store variety on the walls; also two religious mottoes and photographs of members of the family. There is no rug of any kind—not even linoleum on the floor. There is no radio in the home. Mrs. W cooks on an oil stove, has an electric iron and an icebox. She does all household tasks with the help of the children. Family washing seems a major task each week; they do home canning.

Mr. W went to the tenth grade in school. He seemed jolly and talkative. He liked to tease and joke with me, Mrs. W, and the children. He said that Frank was a good boy but had not "gotten along" at school. He said that he stood behind me in every way and would do for Frank anything he could to help him. He seemed to appreciate my saying that I would help Frank, too. Mr. W loves to hunt. During the hunting season he only gets a few hours' sleep, for when he is not at the mill he is hunting. Frank remarked to me one day that his daddy said, "Boy, I don't know what I'd do without you." He made this remark after he showed me his new shoes and sweater that he had bought with his own money. Mrs. W is a fat, pleasant woman. Although in her conversation she will say that something "sure made me mad," she has always been smiling and in a good humor when I have seen her. She finished eighth grade in a rural school. She seems to have worked hard as a young girl.

Her social life is tied up with church affairs. The family are members of the Baptist church. She is active in affairs of the church, but takes no leading part. She and the children attend regularly, Mr. W less regularly. Mrs. W is a regular attendant of PTA meetings, does not lead. She is cooperative about all school matters, seems interested in each child. She seems friendly with her neighbors—has told me of going to a neighbor's and making candy together, of keeping neighbors' children, of sitting with sick ones. Occasionally she attends a picture show with one of the younger children—usually a picture widely advertised and highly recommended, such as *Gone with the Wind*, or *Sergeant York*.

She seems to depend on Mr. W a great deal. She refers to him as "Daddy." Her conversations are always interspersed with "Daddy said" or "like I told Daddy." Daddy even told her when Herbert

was born how to nurse a baby—letting him feed from both breasts at a nursing.

Mrs. W's children came rapidly. She usually had no trouble at childbirth. She is proud of her two sons—Joe and Robert—in the service. She writes regularly to them and enjoys hearing from them. Joe, in the Marines, was trained at Blank Isle but is now located at another port. He writes often. Robert is serving in the Navy and is now on the high seas. He writes less regularly. On my first visit to the home Mrs. W proudly showed me the boys' pictures and little remembrances they had sent, such as a satinlike pillow cover with a mother acrostic on it.

Herbert is an undergraduate student at the university. He must be an ambitious boy, for he has certainly worked hard to get his education. In previous school records it has been noted that the parents paid too much attention to Herbert in respect to the other children. In my conversations with the family group, and in my visiting in the home, I have not found this to be noticeable. (Probably two sons in the service are more dramatic to talk about now.) However, Herbert wants a clean shirt every day, so Mrs. W sees that he has it. Besides his interest in religious affairs Herbert likes sports. He attended the university intercollegiate football games and thrilled Frank with his descriptions of the plays. During the basketball season he was a member of the A factory team. This fact and also that his picture appeared in the paper pleased Frank, who seems to admire Herbert. He sleeps with Herbert—since Christmas.

Frank says Joe, the Marine, is guarding German prisoners and that his mother thinks he is too young to do that, "and so do I," he added. Joe completed tenth grade at our high school, then went to work at the A factory. He wrote that he was sending \$20 to have Frank's eyes examined and to get glasses if necessary. Robert, in the Navy, was expelled from school when he was in the sixth grade. Mrs. W said that he wasn't really a bad boy but got in with the wrong crowd. When Chester called him "Butch" (his nickname), Mrs. W said, "Now you know that's not his name, call him by his real name." I wondered why she objected to the nickname. It seems that Robert was constantly mixed up in some escapades. Mrs. W cried when she told me about him. She said that she hoped that he was doing good now. She said that they signed his papers for him. She said she worried about him a lot. I notice that Frank's fourth-grade teacher has written that Frank often threatens the children with Robert if they do not do as he wishes. Frank rarely ever mentions Robert. Sometimes when we are looking at the map, he asks about certain places where they think Robert might be located.

Howard is in the fourth grade in the same school with Frank. His

teacher says that he is a friendly, well liked boy. He does well in his school work. Frank does not talk about Howard, except to say whether it is his week or Howard's to wash dishes and make the beds. Ellis is in the third grade of the same school. Maude is in the first grade. Her teacher reports that she has good attitudes and is well liked by her group. She is neat, clean, and helpful. She is progressing quite slowly in her reading. Frank says very little about Maude. During the first week of school Frank was concerned because he saw her crying in the halls. He seemed to appreciate my helping her. Frank earned a dollar picking apples to pay for Maude's kitchen fee. Once Frank referred to getting a whipping for teasing Maude.

Chester is the youngest member of the family. He seems to be very fond of Frank, and Frank in turn seems very fond of him. Frank has taken care of him a great deal. Whenever Mrs. W is away from home Frank is left in charge of the children. One day Frank said that he was glad his rocking days were over. When asked what he meant, he said that the children were big enough not be rocked now.

One day Mrs. W came to school with Chester to ask if he might stay until Frank was ready to come home; she was going to the high school to sign up for kerosene. Chester stayed near Frank and was quiet and still. Just before time to go home Frank asked me if I would like to hear Chester say a piece. Of course I would. Chester hung his head and said nothing. The class began begging. Then Frank whispered something in his ear and Chester got up, came up to me, and catching my hand said his piece. Frank beamed like a proud father but I couldn't understand the poem. Since Christmas Chester comes frequently to our room. The children love him. When there are penny plays in other rooms they will ask Frank to bring him, some of them paying for his admission. They asked him to bring Chester when we had our valentine box. Most of the class had a valentine for him.

Excerpts from Frank's cumulative record

First grade (first year): Nervous and does the best he can but his learning ability is limited.

First grade (second year): Frank has learned no more this year than last. What he can do depends on the minute. His mind seems to come and go. He does not think at all. When he plays he just runs right into others and doesn't seem to know that he has done anything wrong at all.

Second grade (first year): Frank has improved some.

Second grade (second year): Gives no trouble in school and is learning to read.

Third grade: Frank has dark moods much too often. He is usually helpful though and adjusts himself better than formerly. He plays better with others. He seems to expect to be the whole cheese in games though and pouts if he is not chosen.

Fourth grade: Frank is not a desirable leader but he is a leader of his sort. He always wants to take the leading part in a play, and attempts to direct most activities in the room whether he is asked to or not. Sometimes his ideas are very good; again his bossy interruptions are most annoying. On the playground he is the boss. He tells everybody what to do and what positions to play. The others respect him to a certain degree because he is skilled in active games. Frank is not a good sport. He wants to do most of the playing and play in the best positions. In the classroom when he does not have his own way he quits jobs. Once he smeared a boy's picture because the boy accidentally dropped some water on Frank's picture.

Both parents have said that Frank "isn't just right!" They give him a lot of whippings with a leather strap, but Mr. W says they don't seem to do him any good. Frank has a lot of responsibilities and little attention at home. He has to wash dishes, sweep the floor, and look after the two younger children a lot. (I think he gets his bossy manner from bossing these children.)

Frank is a hard personality to live with because he is so changeable. He wants to be helpful and offers to do tasks—willingly offers his help to individuals and committees, tries very hard to do his drill work, and seems eager to learn. Then suddenly he changes. He becomes fussy and talks across the room. Shows a rebellious attitude when he is corrected; becomes sullen, refuses to talk. Often when a child makes him mad, he makes threats of what he is going to do after school. A few times he has said that he was going to tell his brother Robert. Frank's behavior, his speech, and the movements of his body show that he lacks stability. Too often his countenance is cloudy and he wears a strained look. He is limited in his reading ability but contributes to discussions. Learns much from pictures.

Fifth grade (schoolwork): Frank is very poor in all drill subjects, but he "works like a Turk" on all of them. During the first week or so of school, Frank impressed me with his general knowledge and ability to help with class discussions. I didn't realize his limited mental abilities, so I was giving him no special attention in his drill work. One day he closed his book with disgust and said that he couldn't do anything unless I'd help him. From then on I have realized his weaknesses in drill subjects.

In October Frank just begged me to teach him to read. He said

that he would stay after school in the afternoons. Almost every afternoon he has stayed for help voluntarily. He has made little progress but has felt more satisfied. Often he asks me to read something for him. When I do he invariably says, "I wish I could read." He can learn a few spelling words a week but does not remember them for very long. He isn't as concerned about not being able to spell as about not being able to read.

Arithmetic is difficult for him, but he has worked hard and is proud of his accomplishments. He is thrilled that he has learned to "borrow" in subtraction. Yet he still thinks of his numbers in terms of apples. Often he works audibly saying, "If I had ten apples and gave Chester four, I would have six apples left." He writes neatly and forms his letters well. He loves to write stories. He has written more than any other pupil in the group. He rarely ever writes independently. Usually he comes to me and asks me to help him write a story when I have time. I always find time. He dictates, I write. He stops every now and then to ask me to read what I've written. He always copies his stories, seems to want them in his own writing. Often he illustrates his stories. He writes about things in his environment—a baby calf, feeding the animals, learning to skate, pleasure riding.

Frank loves to do handwork. He seems particularly to like to paint pictures. Hardly a day passes that he does not have some experience with painting. He likes to paint people doing things, airplanes, illustrations of stories and poems. He uses bright colors. He always seems pleased with his pictures, likes to see them displayed. He takes them home sometimes. He likes to model with clay. Does clay figures fairly well. He enjoys making block prints. He enjoyed making a basket from rattan; designed his own basket, fixing a lid for it. He worked in papier-maché, particularly enjoyed making a papier-maché mask. He enjoyed sewing, too—laughed humorously about boys sewing. He tried soap carving, but was less successful with it than with any other work. His construction work was good but not as finished as I imagined he would do.

Frank enjoys listening to stories, poems, and dramatizing. He laughs aloud at funny episodes sometimes. Other times he laughs silently but with a rocking motion. He tells stories dramatically, but would rather listen to someone else tell one. He is good in dramatics, always wanting to play the leading role. He enjoys music. He likes to sing, but sings low often. He belongs to the school chorus. He listens carefully to music and often asks for a record to be played that he likes. He likes to hear especially "In a Clock Store." He takes an active part in rhythms (all the boys do not). He has good original ideas. Sometimes he becomes overexcited and exaggerates his movements and laughs sillily.

LOOKING FOR PATTERNS

Frank's academic accomplishments, despite his hard work, are so very meager that they indicate quite limited mental ability. In the classrooms of many American school systems he would have been an abject failure, and many teachers would have dismissed him from their minds with a pitying shrug as hopeless. Frank was indeed fortunate that the accident of birth-place put him in a school system with a flexible curriculum, informal teaching procedures, and many opportunities for successful participation in classroom activities. Even so, a reading of the cumulative record of Frank's first six years in school (through the fourth grade) gives us the picture of a rather unpleasant boy with almost no assets, who "isn't just right" by his own parents' admission. How different is the feeling we get from the sequence of anecdotal records made by his fifth-grade teacher in the attempt really to understand his actions!

But it is better to let Frank's teacher give her own interpretation of the boy. We shall first show how she looked for recurring situations, patterns of behavior, and environmental influences on the basis of which to arrange her information about him. Then we shall reproduce her summarizing interpretation. Confronted by the considerable array of material she had collected, Miss H chose the following categories as the basis for organizing her knowledge about Frank: physical factors (appearance, mannerisms, health, energy output), family relationships (with father, with mother, with stepbrothers and stepsisters, with own brothers and sister), relationships with others (roles in school groups, relations with individual boys, relations with special friends, relations with members of the opposite sex, relations with adults), attitudes toward work (drill work at school, arts and crafts at school, work outside of school), attitude toward money, leadership, his likes, his kindness and thoughtfulness, his outside interests, emotional flare-ups, humor, and aspirations. Frank's teacher arranged under the above headings all of the chief facts she had gathered about him. Then she set about trying to figure out why he acted as he did. The material to follow is at the same time her interpretation of Frank and an evaluation of her records.

The child as a physical being

The record shows that Frank was not a healthy baby. When he was six weeks old he had a severe illness—a rising in his ear and also under the tongue. This infection of the ear left him slightly deaf. It was difficult to find food to agree with him. Between the ages of five and nine he had the so-called children's diseases—mumps, measles, chicken pox, and whooping cough.

The records fail to present a full picture of his health today. He has frequent headaches. Kidney trouble necessitates his being excused often and being on a diet. He had his tonsils, which the doctor said were poisoning his system, removed in February. An examination revealed that he did not need to wear glasses. His nervous traits are shown in many of his reactions. He bites his fingernails, wears a strained expression often, talks much, laughs loudly and with a swaying motion when amused. He cries easily.

I think that Frank is beginning his growth spurt. His growth chart shows what I believe is the beginning of an incline. His behavior shows that he may be at the period of rapid growth. He has much energy (except when he is sick) and wants to be doing something all the time. He picks at others, has begun noticing the girls. He is easily upset about not getting to play out of doors, drill work, teasing, etc. He likes to prop up his feet and tilt back his chair.

The child's relationship with others

Frank's record shows that he likes people and is interested in them. He was concerned about Ted's funny book being thrown away. He was interested in the people at the hospital. He wants people treated fairly. He must care a great deal for his mother. He remembered her with presents on Thanksgiving Day, Christmas, and her birthday. He is willing to help her with the housework and family washing. His mother attends PTA regularly, came to school to visit one day during school hours and was pleased with Frank's work. She came to school to talk with me about Frank's being rude. Yet she did not seem concerned about Frank's health in the fall.

His father says that Frank is a good boy and tells Frank that he doesn't know what he'd do without him. He is anxious for Frank to succeed in school, bought books for him, had his tonsils removed. Frank does not wish to be like his father because he hunts too much. Frank loves his little brother, Chester. Enjoys bringing him to school. Pleased when children gave him valentines. The record shows that Joe was willing to fit Frank with glasses. Frank brought pictures of him to school, talked about him. The record does not show enough about his relationships with his siblings.

At school the boys particularly seem to love and admire Frank. Can it all be because of his athletic prowess? They allow him to boss them and are good-natured about his fussing. They choose him to represent them at council, even desiring a second term for him. They are willing that he be allowed favors not granted to others. They choose him to play leading roles in plays. They are eager for him to be present in school. Every child in the group, I believe, gave Frank a valentine. In return, Frank is kind to his classmates and appreciates kindness in them. He willingly helps them with their arts and crafts. He helped Ben when he got sick at school. He expressed the opinion that everyone should be kind to Gladys because she is kind and helpful. He loves Ellen—likes to sit by her, talk with her, help her, and playfully tease her. Ellen returns his friendship in her choice of him as a work partner. She has asked him to sit by her. Will Frank's mental inability to cope with the others affect his popularity? I believe it will. After his record was closed, the president of our school council came to ask for nominations for a president for the coming year. In naming requirements for a good president he mentioned ability to read. Someone said, "That lets Frank out." Frank said, "If you're a good leader, I don't think it would matter if you couldn't read." The group did not nominate Frank.

The record fails to show how people in the community feel toward Frank. Evidently the B's like him and trust him. They have him stay nights with their little boy and to work for them.

The child as an individual personality

Frank recognizes his leadership ability. I think that he feels sure of the group's loyalty, and feels secure in the use of his hands. He feels very insecure in academic work—is easily upset about drill work. He realizes his limitations as a leader because of his academic incapabilities. Yet one would not quickly judge that his intelligence rating is as low as it is. He has many special abilities which compensate for his inability to succeed in drill work. In his art, athletics, and dramatics he is happy and secure.

Experiences at home and in the community have helped him gain a practical knowledge. He has been given much responsibility at home. He has taken care of the younger children, helps keep house, helps with the family washing. He earns money to buy his own clothes, buy bonds, use for school expenses. This experience has taught him the value of money and the integrity of work. Frank's experience background may mean that Frank can feel a sense of security in manual labor regardless of the fact that he can make no progress in reading and other drill subjects. His attitude toward work seems sound to me. Frank wants to be the very things that he

excels in now—a great football player and an artist. Yet for some reason he accepts the fact that he will in all probability just be a "mill worker."

Frank's personality is not well knit. He seems to be very changeable. The record shows that he is kind, sympathetic, and helpful. It also reveals that he loses control of himself and finds it hard to readjust himself. Frank is consistent with himself in the things in which he feels his security—athletics, art, dramatics, and manual work. In the things he feels insecure about—drill work, not being able to go out to play—he is inconsistent. He has shown an unreasonable attitude toward these things.

I think that Frank is not a stable person. He is easily upset emotionally. He laughs loudly with a swaying motion, bites his fingernails; he does not gain control of himself quickly and with ease; he cries easily, looks worried at times. Frank is happy over his present-day successes. If he can continue to feel secure and happy in his ability to use his hands, he may become a better adjusted personality as he grows older.

SUMMARY

In this chapter we have pointed out that the task of relating information about a child to scientific principles that explain development and behavior is complex. A tentative analysis of the steps involved in working out an interpretation of a child's record was presented. Then we illustrated one step in this procedure—that of looking for recurring patterns of behavior, recurring situations, and recurring environmental factors that have influenced the child's development. We have shown how this ordering of information about the two cases presented was helpful in locating the principles that seemed to explain each child's actions.

VIII

Studying a Personality through Time

EACH LIFE has its own story, its own particular continuity. Past experiences and aspirations for the future help to shape present behavior. In turn, the effects of events in the present shape the future. Recognition of this essential uniqueness and continuity of every life grew steadily as the teachers in this study continued their observation of an individual child over a considerable period of time and as they shared with each other their information and hypotheses about these children. They came to see that each child has his own particular and selective readiness for new experience, his own established techniques for dealing with his world, his own way of regarding himself, and his own tempo of growth. They observed that some children characteristically acted with an eager confidence rooted in a long-prevailing sense of security and adequacy. They noted others who continually regarded their world as hostile and who had worked out endless ways of protecting themselves from it or of striking back at it. Most of the children they studied were seen to be threading a way through life between these extremes. Most of them showed areas of confidence and assurance and other areas of anxiety and of antagonism.

In addition to their increasing understanding of the uniqueness and continuity in each child's life, these teachers also came to see that a long series of developmental tasks is posed for every child as he grows up in our society. As teachers from various school grades met together to share their experiences in dealing with children at different stages of development and to achieve an understanding of these individuals, these teachers came to know all children have to grapple with and accomplish cer-

tain large problems of learning in each stage of the growth cycle before they can move on to successful living in the next later phase. They saw, too, that many of these large, common learning problems that characterize different growth levels have but little apparent relationship to the subject matter the teacher is trying to teach in the classroom. They also noted that the children universally continued to work on these developmental tasks in the classroom, whether or not the formal curriculum recognized these tasks. For example, the teachers came to recognize that during the early adolescent phase of development, every boy and girl works more or less steadily at the problems of managing a rapidly changing body, of accepting his or her approved sex role in our society, and of winning from adults in authority a greater measure of freedom to make decisions, to mention only a few of the tasks that characterize this maturity level.

Members of the child-study groups began to accept the extension of their role as teachers to encompass these major learning tasks, not only during the adolescent period but at all maturity levels from the time the children enter school. In their study together they encountered the records of many children who had failed to master earlier developmental tasks and who, consequently, posed serious problems of policy for their teachers. Some of these children have been described in earlier chapters. For example, Nicholas had failed to establish himself as an accepted member of the boys' play group. Isabelle was clinging to childhood, not daring to face the responsibility of growing up. Pressley continued to confuse reality and fantasy at a time when most children are beginning to distinguish clearly between them. Larry had failed to achieve security in his home situation from babyhood. In these cases and others the teachers saw that these failures made for lack of readiness to deal with further developmental tasks. They saw, too, that many of these children continued to be preoccupied with these earlier failures and kept making efforts to resolve them, which took so much of their attention and energy that they were unable to achieve the more usual purposes of their school work.

As the teachers achieved these insights, it is not surprising that they desired to continue to work for longer periods than is customary with the children they had come to understand so well. Many of them, with the approval and help of the administration, continued with the same groups for two years and some for three years. There were various reasons why the teachers did this. Some wanted the opportunity to observe directly a sequence of developmental changes in the same children. Others wished the experience of seeing children shift from the array of tasks characterizing one phase of development to the array characteristic of the next level. Some wanted to perfect their observational accuracy and skill in analyzing individual behavior by continuing with children about whom they already had gathered many basic facts. Probably the predominant motivation in all of them was the feeling that only toward the very end of a whole school year of study of an individual or group does a teacher begin to know how to help his pupils in really significant ways. Customarily, a teacher loses his class just when this feeling of power to help them is born. Many teachers felt that they should have a "second chance" with the group. Furthermore, careful and sympathetic study of their class during the year often had built up a rapport between teacher and children that made them desire strongly to remain together for a longer period.

Another common school problem emerges here, which can merely be mentioned in passing. These teachers became sensitive to the fact that schools generally have not perfected any really effective procedures for passing on from teacher to teacher the vital facts and understandings about individual children that are acquired during a year of association together. The usual pattern of keeping cumulative records had proven itself ineffectual. Subject-matter marks and conduct ratings were still less satisfactory, and no workable substitute procedure had been demonstrated. The teachers in the child-study groups therefore felt that such a tremendous annual wastage could be prevented, at least in part, if they remained with their groups during two or three years.

THE CASE OF SAM

The record of Sam, as presented in this chapter, was made by a teacher who worked with a group of boys and girls through three years. Sam and his class were with this teacher in their fifth-, sixth-, and seventh-grade years. She joined the child-study group in the middle of the year when these children were in the fifth grade. However, she like other teachers in the school system, had kept in close touch with what the first study group had been doing up to that time. The case of Sam should be considered a sort of summarizing illustration of the results achieved by combining all of the study methods and activities that we have described separately in the preceding chapters.

This story of Sam underscores once more the statement made earlier in this report that teachers must act. Sam's teacher many times had to decide on how she would deal with him. Sam left her no choice. This teacher has given her immediate interpretations and hypotheses for action as part of the record. She has also described her expectations for the boy, how she maneuvered to hold Sam to his responsibilities and yet to give him freedom to work out his developmental tasks. The record reveals how she gained skill in applying principles of human development to her steadily increasing array of information about this boy.

It was not until the end of the first year with Sam (and toward the end of her first semester in the study group) that the teacher became particularly interested in Sam as a case for special study. She had gathered data on his life at home and some of his earlier history as she had done for the other children in her class, and she also had recorded a few anecdotes about him as she had about others. But in the spring of that year the teacher began to sense certain changes taking place in Sam, and she wanted to understand them better. From that time on he was one of the children on whom she kept rather extensive records. The three-year study of this boy will be presented in four sections dealing with him respectively in the fifth, sixth, and seventh grades and concluding with an overview of the entire period.

Sam in the fifth grade

My first acquaintance with Sam: Walter H, a pupil of two years ago, came to my room saying, "Here's my brother Cotton Top; he wants to be in your class. He will be smarter than I was." I said, "I'd like to have him and if he is put on my list I'll be looking for him." A short while later in trooped thirty-six boys and girls of ten and eleven years—among them smiling, fat-faced, tousle-haired "Cotton Top," Sam H—ten years, four months old. I identified him immediately as a leader among the interested, outspoken members of the group rather than among the quiet, timid, shrinking ones. The children lost no time selecting a "good" place to sit in their new room. Seated on one side of this robust Sam was pale-faced, quiet, sad-eyed little Arnold, and on the other equally pale and skinny James. Sam told me James was his double first cousin.

Sam's weight was ninety-nine pounds, his height sixty-one inches. He radiated health. He seemed one of the favorites with both boys and girls. He was anxious to have everything go off just right and was out for all the wholesome fun and work that could be packed into each day. From his cumulative record I read this: 1936 (first grade) "cheerful and polite," 1937 (second grade) "a well rounded child," 1938 (third grade) "an excellent pupil," 1939 (fourth grade) "a nice pupil."

What could I find in the background of this boy that would make him the "nice pupil," the "well rounded child," the "excellent, cheerful and polite" pupil? Since we were now beginning a study of child growth and development, and I expected to be in the study as soon as a vacancy occurred, I busied myself going to the home to get acquainted with the parents. I wanted a better picture of each child in his world than the cumulative records had provided.

The family group: Father, G. M. H (age 37), storekeeper; mother, Linda (age 32), housekeeper; Leo (age 17), married and living across the street; Walter (age 12), seventh grade; Sam (age 10), fifth grade; Wayne (age 8), third grade. After a number of visits were made to the home I could record the following: Sam seems to come from a family of friendly, healthy, good-natured mountain people. The family ties are very strong. The father is very jolly, the mother pleasant but a bit more reserved; the father is around six feet, two inches tall, well built, and apparently a very physically fit person; the mother is a medium-sized person and wears her long hair in two large braids around her head. The people belong to an industrious, laboring group of people. This family goes around with

their kin, the S's and the H's, who are closely intermarried. The two H women married S men and the S sister married Mr. H.

Maternal background: Belonging to the S family there are ten children, all living. Mrs. H's father (age 69) and her mother (age 65)—Sam's maternal grandparents—are both living. They were born in a mountainous section of a southern state. They have fifty-one grandchildren and ten greatgrands. Maternal grandfather and grandmother now live near Mount F on a farm. When they left their native state they sold a fourteen-mule farm. Sam said, "My grandmother almost died with quite a large sum of money tied under her skirt in a tobacco sack."

Sam's father and his family now help the old couple with the farming. "The old man just sits around the house most of the time and cures people of diseases. They come bad off and he strikes two flints together, repeats a verse out of the Bible, and they go off cured. One day a woman promised him \$100 if he cured her. He did, and she went off and didn't pay him a cent," according to Sam and James.

Paternal background: Mr. H and Mrs. S are the only surviving members of the five children in the H family. Grandfather H was born in a midwestern state; so was the grandmother. The grandfather died when Sam's father was very young. At ten years old, Sam's father was left the oldest boy of five children. He had to go out to hire to people to support himself, his mother, and his sisters. The following family lore was contributed by Sam's aunt, Mrs. S:

Grandfather H was quite a character. The Lord called him to preach when he was young, but he was tongue-tied and resisted. He became a wanderer, always hoboing his way from state to state in the West. Finally he settled down as overseer on an oil field in a distant state and made good money. He still never bought a railroad ticket unless he took his family. He got a kick out of hoboing on freight trains, showing his 240-pound strength in a wrestle or fight, or winning a bet by spending the night in a lonesome cemetery. One time he slept all night in a graveyard seventy-five miles from home.

Finally one time when he was making good money he took a vacation, hoboing his way across the West on a freight train. Three men who knew he had a big roll of money closed in on him in a boxcar. They had clubs; he had nothing but his fists but he finally downed two of the three, pitching them out of the boxcar door of the moving train. Finally just as the third one hit him across the small of his back, he gave a counterblow to the man's jaw. They both fell from the boxcar. The other man fell senseless but the grandfather managed to hobble away and later caught a freight

train traveling in the opposite direction. He was never well and able to work from that day on. He got back home and went to a fortune teller who told him he would die in three years. He finally got better and went to work at the oil field, but he was seriously injured one day and he died in three years sure enough.

Sam's father was married in a distant state and afterward came here to live. When Leo, the eldest son, was born Mrs. H was critically ill. Mr. H promised the Lord if He would heal her he would join the church and work for Him. He did and was soon made a deacon. He also now leads the church choir.

Sam's infancy and early childhood: The H's seemed delighted to have me visit the home. They talked very proudly of the children and often the conversation centered around Sam. My judgment is that he is a child who has always been loved and admired by both his parents. The fact that the teacher thought he was such a fine and healthy-looking child, with a physique patterned after his father, met approval with both. The father said, "He has always been a healthy child. He has been real sick only once—when he had pneumonia at two years old." The mother added, "My first baby, Leo, was a small one. He only weighed four pounds at birth. Sam weighed twelve pounds. Leo walked at nine months and Sam was near fourteen months. He was fat and got many falls in learning, but he was a jolly and good-natured baby." The father said, "He has always had a good appetite. He began eating when only a few months old."

The H's love children and have wanted all their children. Sam's parents anticipated his birth with great pleasure. He was born at home. The mother had been very ill when Leo was a baby, so she had the doctor look her over frequently during this pregnancy. Her health was now good, the baby came on time, and both mother and baby did fine. The birth was easy and normal. Breast feeding was very successful and Sam was weaned gradually as he so early began eating. The parents did not lose sleep at night as he was an unusually healthy baby and slept soundly. Bladder and bowel control were achieved at a very early age. Sam got through his teething without much trouble. He was almost never sick. He had mumps when three years old, chicken pox at four years, and measles when five. None of these went hard with him.

Sam's health in the fifth grade: *October 1940*: Sam now has good sound teeth; he has never had any ear, throat, or lung trouble.

November 8: Sam had a spell of kidney colic when he was hit in the side with a brick. The parents took him to the hospital the night he had the attack. He responded to the treatment given and

only stayed one night and one day there. He was in bed two days at home and then back in school. When I visited him in the home the father said, "Sam is practically well. You can't keep a good fellow down. You'll see him at school in a few days." There was a pretty pot of primroses on the table which Sam's Sunday school teacher had brought him.

December 1: Sam told me he was absent because his father and mother feared he had some eye trouble after his kidney attack. They took him to an optometrist who fitted him with glasses.

December 5: Sam wanted me to test his eyes . . . said he could see better without his glasses than with them. I gave him the Snellen eye test, resulting in left, 20/20, right 20/20. The parents asked me to encourage Sam to wear his glasses. It became a habit for him to take them off. I spoke with the parents about it. After a few weeks they took him for another examination. The doctor said since there seemed no eye trouble now, the temporary trouble must have been due to a condition of his kidneys at that time.

Later December: Sam has stopped wearing his glasses entirely. He seems well and strong now, is growing fast. He is a well developed child and is proud of his muscular strength. He plays all sorts of active games, football and baseball being his favorites. He doesn't tire easily and always begs to play a bit longer. His peers respect his activity in sports, too. He is a favorite choice on the teams and is often chosen captain. The boys say he can keep things going and he is a good sport.

January 1941: Sam is well matched in size, energy output, and muscular fitness with Paul. He brought boxing gloves received for Christmas. We put up string to enclose a court and they boxed according to the rules of an umpire. The class stood outside the ring and cheered. The boys seemed well matched at the second intermission; on the next round however Sam's resistance overshadowed Paul's and he easily became winner. The last round brought the blood from Paul's nose. Sam threw off his gloves, rushed to his assistance; patting him on the back he said, "Paul, you are good. I didn't meant to hurt you."

February 1941: I studied other pages of his cumulative record and found that Sam's former teachers had recorded this on the health and physical education sheet: 1936-37 (first grade) "very active, neat and clean"; 1937-38 (second grade) "unusually neat, a good leader and a good sport"; 1938-39 (third grade) "a good sport, enjoys any kind of play"; 1939-40 (fourth grade) "has grown very fast; plays hard; enters all types of games; football, baseball, and boxing are his favorites; entered field-day races and won in the fifty-yard dash and

the relay race; is becoming careless about his personal appearance; comes from home clean but isn't too concerned about staying so."

What others think of Sam (fifth grade): Sam seems to be genuinely liked by his classmates, both in the classroom and in outdoor play. A Guess Who test given December 1940 shows the following record for Sam, compiled from the voting ballots of his peers: "restless" 1, "talkative" 8, "quiet" 1, "silent" 2, "active games" 10, "not well liked" 0, "bossy" 2, "not bossy" 3, "polite" 6, "not polite" 0, "works well with others" 8, "does not work well with others" 0, "happy" 12, "unhappy" 0, "tidy" 1, "untidy" 0, "well liked" 12, "wastes time" 0, "does not waste time" 6, "dependable" 15, "not dependable" 0, "takes care of materials" 6, "does not take care of materials" 0, "best friend" 6. Sam mentioned himself on some of the items of this test, indicating that he thought of himself as a person who played active games a great deal, a person who was happy and enjoyed everything he did, and as a person who was never worried or frightened. Many of his classmates mentioned him on these same items.

Sam's scholastic accomplishment: The following was recorded about his work on major units in the school; 1936-37 (first grade) "interested in construction, did good work during a study of boats and Mother Goose"; 1937-38 (second grade) "takes an active part in discussion, construction, and likes to read; has taken an active part in studies of community life, health shops, book house, post office, and others"; 1938-39 (third grade) "an excellent worker and good in discussions, a good leader, tremendously interested in our studies of Indian life and foods"; 1939-40 (fourth grade) "activity good, discussion very good, unit reading very good, drill very good; the big centers of interest were the library and its uses, and toys and games of the world."

In the fifth grade Sam has entered into all types of construction work with distinction; his paintings are bold and clear; his work with the crafts is outstanding; does excellent blockprints. He was an expert and diligent gardener. The large units were "our neighbor, Mexico," "early American life compared with life in our village today," "better home living including (a) foods, (b) health and safety, (c) citizenship, (d) recreation and games, (e) decoration, (f) gardening."

I held a conference with each of the teachers Sam had had in previous grades. His first-grade teacher mentioned his ability to make friends with his classmates, his ability in skills and games. She thought he was an emotionally stable child and that his intellectual, emotional, and physical development was gradual and in

keeping with his own maturation pattern. He was happy in school, made friends easily, was genuinely liked by his peers, and liked them in return. His close friend was Arnold, a boy unusually timid and retiring in his manner. Arnold evidently needed just such a pal as Sam. Another friend was his double first cousin, James. He showed reading readiness at the age of six years, five months. He was one of the early and better readers of the class. Some of his peer group reached this stage of maturity a good deal later.

His second-grade teacher seemed to foster this love for reading and also extended his experiences with dramatic play, poetry, music, and painting. At an early age he liked to build and was given many opportunities to develop this talent. He seemed at his best when he headed a committee to build a book house in his room. Dramatic play centered around their favorite stories and poems with the book house as a background.

His third-grade teacher reported that he especially enjoyed a study of the Indians of the Southwest. His grandparents and his parents supplemented the stories he read about Indian life with their own folk tales about his own ancestors. His forbears had had experiences similar to the ones in his story books. Hence Indian folklore became very real to him. Similar interests in reading and construction seemed to have continued during his fourth year in school. His individual reading file showed that he read twenty-five pleasure books on his own initiative. This, of course, does not include those books tied up with the big study and read for both research and pleasure in connection with it. His outstanding interest, however, at this time seemed to be in athletic play. He was manager of the school baseball team and also of a football team in his neighborhood community. His fourth-grade teacher recorded that he was a good sport and enjoyed any kind of play.

In the early part of his fifth school year, his first in my classroom, he especially enjoyed reading hero stories. His outstanding in-school experience centered around the construction of a very large fireplace depicting the center of family activities in pioneer days. Sam was chosen by his classmates and assumed the very important task of acting chairman of a committee to procure the slabs from a nearby sawmill, to bring them in, and to build what represented a cabin interior across the back of the classroom, including a fireplace six feet long. Trips to see earlier period homes highlighted this study and were of special delight to Sam.

Again he was enjoying the folklore of his ancestors. He brought and encouraged others to bring many relics of pioneer days to make our improvised home setting more realistic. His grandfather showed

him how to make fire as he had done before he had matches, by striking two flints together. Sam made a fire to light the tinder in our own fireplace by this method. His grandmother taught him to leach lye from red oak ashes and to make soap by adding pork grease. He and his peers in turn made soap for cleaning purposes at school and enough for everyone to take a bar home. It was from this pioneer classroom setting that I got from him many of the rich background anecdotes about the family, a few of which I have recorded. Many of the same things were told to me by Sam's aunt, Mrs. S.

First stocktaking

A survey of my information about Sam at end of fifth grade, May 1941. My stocktaking reveals the following: During Sam's fifth-grade year I have not recorded enough anecdotes on his behavior. I realize that the casual and occasional observation and recording of school and family background have not given me a clear picture of this child. These general and vague impressions can be sharpened by closer observation and recording.

Although I do not have enough data, the information I have collected concerning the child's early years and the adjustment he has been able to make to his teachers and classmates before entering the fifth grade is helpful to me in trying to understand Sam. Also, the data I have collected which give me a picture of the family and the family background, although inadequate, help in shaping up the picture. I ask myself, what have I now recorded about this child which is of value? What do I know? What more can I learn?

The recorded data indicate that Sam's general health, as shown by parents' reports and teachers' observations, looks good. Sam's parents say that he has been a healthy child from infancy on. He has had several childhood diseases which seem to have left him with no disabilities as far as can be observed. An attack of kidney colic at the age of ten seemed to be due to the kick on his side with a brick. And at this same time there was a temporary eye trouble. This school year his eyes, ears, and throat seem to be in good condition. Certainly malnutrition is not in evidence at this period of his growth. Sam is well developed and enjoys active games. He plays and works hard without tiring easily. He asks to have longer time for play. He works hard and is ready for more work.

I have learned much about Sam's relationship with his classmates. The record shows that he is chosen by his peer group for places requiring leadership, both in school and on the playground. He has maintained a very close relationship with Arnold since the first

year in school. In the Guess Who test Sam's classmates chose him as talkative, active, happy, well liked, and dependable.

The anecdotes about the home life would indicate that his relationships with his father and mother are wholesome and that he is accepted and loved by them. Both parents speak proudly of him, especially the father. I do not have, however, sufficient data regarding relationships in the family. There is nothing to show how he accepts and is accepted by his brothers. He is next to the baby boy. What does he think of him?

I have learned quite a bit about Sam's care during infancy. His birth was normal and easy. He was a jolly, good-natured baby, breast-fed, weaned gradually, walked with ease, trained in cleanliness with no difficulty.

From Sam's former teachers I have a brief picture of his adjustment to school life. From first grade on Sam has been active and has been considered by teachers to be a good sport. Teachers too have called him a leader. He has engaged in all phases of school activities. He seems to have made friends easily throughout his school experiences. In school subjects and skills he probably met sufficient success each year. He was one of the first children in his group to learn to read and has enjoyed reading throughout each grade. However, not enough is recorded about his ability with regard to other tasks such as arithmetic, story writing, music, and dramatics.

When I have more detailed accounts of Sam as a physical and social being I shall possess a better working knowledge of his personality. I will know more definitely what to expect of Sam in a given situation. Sam is beginning to grow now and I shall need to see how he develops during the early adolescent period. He and Paul are growing faster than any of the children of the same age in the group. I anticipate that Sam's problems will increase (perhaps the teacher's will also). Sam is already occasionally showing tendencies which are in contrast to his previous pattern of conformity. Will I be able to understand Sam in relation to the developmental tasks he will be facing as a fast growing youth?

Sam in the sixth grade

A brief picture of the home: Sam's home is just an average village type. There is nothing displayed there that would indicate a cultural or artistic background. It is adequately but plainly furnished. The pictures displayed are in gaudy, overtoned colors. Mottoes in clashing color tones are also displayed. Very few books are seen.

The father is a deacon in the church but not narrow nor over-religious in his views. He has a very wholesome attitude toward

clean sports and fun. On one occasion when we were trying to learn the square dance, he sent word by Sam that if we needed his help he would come to school and show us how it was done. He is jovial. Enjoys playing games and singing rounds and fun songs when he attends PTA. The mother is always neatly dressed. Does not work outside the home. Very cordial and pleasant. Both parents are cheerful and seem to enjoy life; very fond of the children. They plant a garden. Sam helps tend the garden and sells the produce. He is very proud of being a helper there.

They keep a small store and own a car which they use for delivery purposes. Sam is interested in and helps with this. He is given a part of the earnings. The parents on so many occasions have sent generous supplies for school lunches. In the autumn when tomatoes were scarce and bringing a high price, Sam brought them often in large quantities. At times I had to ask him to wait for others to take turns, for I knew they were donating things that they needed for the maintenance of the family. They have a radio and enjoy keeping up with the news. The entire family goes in the car to the country to help with the grandfather's farm. They wait for the children to get out of school in the afternoons. Sam makes extra money doing chores and helping his father and grandfather. With the money he makes he buys his own Sunday clothes and shoes. Is proud of the fact.

Anecdotes about Sam in the sixth grade: *September 10*: At times Sam is the same genial personality that he was in the fifth grade, at other times he seems in a dream. Doesn't finish his work. Doesn't listen to plans and asks over what has been so recently agreed on. When children say, "Sam, didn't you hear us decide that?" he sometimes acts sullen and mumbles. Soon gets over this mood and laughs unnecessarily. He developed fast during the summer; has gained over ten pounds in weight.

September 15: Sits always in a careless, sprawled position. Talks loud and plays roughly on playground. Likes to chase and tease Annette, the tomboy of the class, more than the other girls.

September 20: Stepped just over the borderline of group standards in several things today: Disappointed his fellow worker by failing to bring plank he promised (I mention this because it is so unlike him); hurt two boys while playing football; failed to be on his traffic post; wanted to change from job of drying apples to beating copper bowl in midst of busy work period. When questioned about any of these by either his classmates or teacher, the answer was, "I just did" or "I just didn't."

September 22: Visited home. Father and mother both home.

Father said, "Walter went to Mount Holly to high school this fall and begged Sam to start there with him, but he likes his school and wouldn't change." Mother said, "Sam helped his grandparents on the farm and worked too hard this summer." Sam came in and the conversation continued along very pleasant lines.

October 14: Sam seems definitely to have entered the growth spurt. For many days I have noted that he sometimes prefers to sprawl and daydream rather than actively participate. When he is brought back to himself, it is evident that this is from no desire on his part to fail in cooperation. Given a change of jobs, fresh air, and sunshine, his fatigue is temporarily relieved and he actively cooperates again.

October 15: Sam was our pride and joy at camp. He, Paul, and Bobby assumed the role of big brother to everyone. Entered into all the fun, work, and play. Was always near enough to protect the less hardy ones on the hikes and to do the harder chores around the camp. He painted a lovely picture of some activities around the sled house. He didn't think it at all sissy to enter wholeheartedly into the folk games and dances with the group. He especially enjoyed playing games in which girls and boys could be partners.

November 5: Paul and Sam hurt each other on the playground today. Both tackled in football when the agreement had been to "touch," not to tackle. Neither wanted to give up. Although Sam was hurt he wanted to play on. He insisted on staying at school when I really felt he was hurt. At noon he didn't come back. His mother sent a note saying his side was hurting so she had kept him home.

November 8: Sam has really been a grand worker in the school garden. He has taken great pride in hauling compost so that the soil may be sufficiently fertile. His mother sent me a note asking that Sam not do any more strenuous work about the garden because she fears he has a rupture. I talked to Sam about it. He said, "Please let me continue to work in the garden. I got the rupture working this summer at my grandfather's farm and this work isn't nearly as hard as that."

November 15: Sam continues to enter into dramatic and rhythmic play much to my delight. He seems not to have let self-consciousness overcome his job of class participation in all creative activities.

December 8: Some teachers were observing today. Sam found it hard to live up to his responsibilities, for he was in a daydreaming mood. He went often to the trash can for he was restless at times. He didn't sweep the floor during clean-up period. He went to the basement instead, under pretense of emptying dirty water, and

stayed ten minutes. We waited for him to return for discussion. The child who checked the cleaning called his attention to the fact that someone else had done his cleaning for him and asked for his co-operation next time. He cheerfully promised it, and his teacher at least understood and inwardly excused him for his temporary listless, restless, forgetful mood.

December 10: Sam, Tom, William, and Arnold seem to be going through the punching, grabbing stage. This goes on frequently on way to the garden and back, and not only on the way to the playground but sometimes on the way back and in school.

December 14: Sam, a month ago, seemed to like the girls and wanted certain of them to play ball with the boys; now he and his threesome avoid the girls and act in an antagonistic way when girls go about their play areas. Games with boys and girls as partners are taboo now. Sam plays so hard. He gets rather loud and boisterous at times. I have never seen him overbearing in any way.

December 15: Sam has stuck to the job of designing and cutting his block and blockprinting his Christmas cards and wrapping paper longer than to any job he has undertaken in a long time. He likes a job involving manpower and muscles, so he has enjoyed running the press for others. He brought Irish potatoes enough for the entire class to cut a potato print. When they got around to designing with the linoleum he was anxious to give help and advice for he had succeeded with his own. The children like Sam. He was chosen to be Joseph in the shadow play depicting the Nativity scene. He took great interest to see that the properties for the play were made and helped with them in every way.

December 17: Sam went to put away some old material in the supply room for us. As he went out with it, he showed me how he had marked it so that it would be in reserve for us. He had put "Sister B" on each of the four parcels. I laughed and asked him why he had thought of that way of marking. He said the children in Mrs. T's room were calling her "Ma T" and he thought he'd give me a name. He seemed to mean no disrespect; on the other hand, he seemed to think it a way of conferring honor on me. I realized that at one time when I visited his church, the members addressed each other as "sister" and "brother".

December 20: Sam brought Miss P, the principal, and me a beautiful spray of holly heavily laden with berries for Christmas. Said he had been selling it on the street from his grandfather's farm. When I offered a contribution he said, "I wouldn't think of taking pay."

January 7: Sam entered with a beaming smile on his face. He was so happy to be back in school after the holidays. Wanted to

relate incidents about his good times and to hear about the others. His good mood continued throughout the day and he accomplished a great deal. He was wearing a new green wool sweater which he helped to buy and he was very proud of it.

January 14: Sam continued restless. He finds it hard to keep at any one task. Last year he had stickability plus! He was the best carpenter in the class, stuck to the difficult job of building the colonial fireplace to a finish. This year he doesn't want to do anything at all.

January 21: Sam wants to resign his job as safety patrolman. When questioned about the reasons, he says he doesn't have any special reason. I asked him if he would like to talk with the principal about it, he said he guessed he'd just as soon go on with it.

February 2: The chief of the school patrol force complained that Sam and Arnold were not on their posts of duty regularly. They were also asked to wear their caps when on duty. When I asked the boys if they had made up their minds whether they wished to remain patrolmen or to give up their places to the two Johns who were anxious to be on the force, they said they would continue but needed more time at noon. I agreed to let them out ten minutes earlier than the others so they could eat unhurriedly and be on their posts as the children began returning to school. They took their caps out of the lockers, but I noticed as they left the school ground they threw them about instead of wearing them.

February 3: The patrol leader made a complaint to the principal that the boys were disrespectful to their patrol caps. The principal called them in for a conference. They told her they couldn't wear their caps because they didn't fit. She swapped caps for them until they were satisfied about a better size.

February 10: Trouble arose again about several boys still not wearing their caps and not being at their posts. The principal called the entire patrol force together and helped the leaders again explain the duties involved. She then said that there might be those, appointed to posts in September, who now felt they would like to give their jobs to others. Sam and Arnold then asked to be relieved of the posts.

March 5: Sam continues restless. He has to be held to tasks. He has to have changes provided for him often. He may appear very bored with the activity, discussion, or drill but when a change is made his interest picks up suddenly.

March 10: Sam did a grand part today as mayor in the play, *The Pied Piper of Hamelin*. He loves poetry and dramatics. I have so often noticed that when he is really acting tough about something

and we change to poetry and appreciation, he immediately calls for his favorites and participates.

March 20: Sam flew into a rage today. Didn't want to look up the necessary words in the dictionary to complete his work. Didn't want to admit he was copying from Mary and Arnold, when Mary complained. He said he wasn't going to look up the rest of the words and nobody could make him. I said that I hoped he wouldn't look at it that way, that I wished he would do them voluntarily, but that I did expect them to be done before the close of school that day. He giggled unnecessarily and said again that nobody could make him look up any more words. We went on with other work. When we broke up into small reading groups, Sam joined his group and when he had finished, went to his seat and got the dictionary. In a few minutes he interrupted to say that he couldn't find a word. When his remarks went unnoticed, he slammed the book down and said, "Nobody but my daddy could make me look those words up."

Then I asked Sam to bring his notebook and dictionary and come across into the music room with me. First I told him he could work in here because he was disturbing the class and that if he wanted help, I could give him some now. He said he wasn't going to look them up. I said, "It is just a question of whether you are going to do so now or later in the day." I left him to decide and went to work with the group. He came back into the room in five minutes and explained to me that the reason he hadn't found the words before was that he didn't know how to spell them. That of course was an alibi; they were spelled correctly in the list from which he was working.

March 30: Sam has done so many nice things for the class and for me lately. It is refreshing to see how he tries to show his appreciation when I am patient and stand by him in a kind, frank way when he is too aggressive in his work and play.

April 8: I was called home today on account of the illness of a relative. Sam cooperated with the substitute teacher but on the playground he took the liberty to ride a bicycle in forbidden areas. When a seventh-grade teacher stopped him he was polite about it. He didn't return in the p.m. His mother sent a note saying she couldn't get him to come back because I wasn't there. Wasn't that a poor excuse for a mother to give?

April 10: Our class is asked to take part in the minuet dances for the countywide field-day program. Sam said, "I'm not going to be in it." Nobody replied. When we went to the music room and began to play, he didn't participate. Several children said, "Come on, Sam." The teacher made no comment but waited for a while. The dance

continued without Sam. When for a rest we changed to another rhythm, he came on the floor and joined in very enthusiastically. Back to the minuet and Sam, Arnold, and Paul do not come on the floor. The children urged, the teacher waited. When nothing happened she started the record and the dance continued. At the end of this one Mac and Calbert said, "We don't want to be in it either."

The teacher then said in a calm and reassuring tone of voice, "I think it is going to be grand for us to be in the field-day program again. We have colonial costumes on hand, and will you tell your parents they will be put to no expense this year for the program? Two of the boys and several of the girls said, "I'm glad we were given the minuet again; we will have to get no new costumes." Sam said, "I'm not and I'm not going to be in it." The problem has now come to a head. Sam's attitude is influencing some of the other boys. If I excuse him it affects the group. I have decided to pass this up, let it rock along until next music time. In the event it is just a passing mood of Sam's and he wishes me to beg him to be in it, I may be able to beat him at his own game. He may really want to be in it. The only direct remark I have made about it so far was to say to the children, "I'm sure we can count on our boys to cooperate. Sam always helps us out when we need him and so do all the other boys. We have been given plenty of time to prepare for it."

April 12: Music-room day again. Two records were played. Children all participated in the rhythms. Sam was enthusiastic in leading a march; Arnold took his cue each time from Sam and did exactly as he did. The minuet record was put on. All got on the floor but Sam and Arnold; Paul, Calbert, and Carol lagged back and urged Sam to come. We went ahead again without them.

At the end of the practice the teacher excused the girls saying that they seemed to have learned it and that she would stay for a few minutes to see if she could help the boys. The girls decided on their work and went back to the classroom. I put the record on and asked the boys to choose partners. They all participated. We sat down to talk things over together. Sam said, "That's the reason I don't want to be in it. I don't want to take any old girl's hand and dance around. Let boys be partners and I'll be in it." I replied, "Maybe we could do that. Let's think it through. Arnold is your partner. Which one of you will take the girl's part?" It dawned upon them that someone would have to dress as a colonial lady. That was more distasteful than taking the girl's hand. Neither could decide to be the lady. We all had a good laugh.

All the boys except Sam and Arnold said they thought the thing to do was to go ahead and be in it. None of them really wanted to, they said, but they were willing to if all the boys would. Arnold

said he would be in it but from past experience I knew that he would pattern after Sam. Sam said he didn't know, he didn't think he could be there. I said that I thought the best thing was for all to stick together and put the thing across as it would take all the boys and the two girls who had so nicely volunteered to be the colonial men. With that understanding, but still no promise from Sam, we went back to the classroom.

April 13: I went this afternoon to visit the H home. The mother and I chatted about things in general. Finally I got around to discussing with her Sam's work and attitudes, good and bad. She said he had told her he didn't want to be in the minuet with the girls. I said I thought it was a passing notion and that all would be well if we both assumed the same attitude toward it. When I asked her what she thought we ought to decide she said, "Let's decide on the thing you think will be best for Sam and he will do that." I explained to her the importance of the probable influence on the other boys if we excused Sam. She saw that and said, "I will talk to him; I think he should take part." We agreed to say little about it, but at all times to assume that it was understood without doubt that he was to participate.

April 14: The minuet proceeded today with unanimous participation. Sam was the first boy on the floor, Arnold close on his heels. We did such a good job we decided we need not practice again for quite a while. Mary said that we could do the minuet in our colonial plays in the classroom. I did not wish to tire them out with it. I only wanted to get to the place we could set our goals and have them give the music supervisor a definite answer as to what to expect of us. We all wrote the note to her together and they put their signatures on it. It now became a personal obligation. Sam volunteered to take the note to the supervisor. He and Frank did it.

April 20: We had visitors from a nearby state today. Sam was on the committee to build the puppet theater. He was chairman, had grand ideas about it, and had done a grand job with his group until today. I could tell when he came in that today would not go so well with him. His hair was tousled, his shirttail flagging. I needed him ever so badly with that group today. He had been the most dominant factor and I knew James, Paul, and Arnold would take their cues from him. He went to his work but he didn't care whether the planks he was sawing were measured or not. The boys protested but he would saw before an agreement was reached. When the precious two-by-four they had had such a hard time getting was an inch too short he didn't care, he wouldn't help the other boys figure a way out of it.

He dillydallied with this and that, leaving his group several times

to walk about the room. Finally the others figured a new way, went to work to saw off the other two-by-four to make it fit with the one Sam had ruined. Then he came back into the picture and in a boisterous manner told them that wouldn't work. He took the saw from Paul and began to saw. He dropped a heavy plank on Frank's finger and said he didn't care. Paul flew into a rage and called the teacher. This group stopped work, talked things over, and they protested that Sam should drop off the committee for today and let them finish the framework. Sam said that suited him, he didn't want to work with them anyway.

He went to his seat, started on his spelling activity, but before he finished it he decided he would write a story. Wrote about four lines, pushed his chair back, propped his knees against the table, slouched down in his chair and sat dreaming into space—seemingly oblivious to anything going on about him. During a discussion period later he lazily sprawled in his chair, shifting his position many times to punch and grab at Arnold. He offered none of the fine suggestions he so often makes to keep the work going. He entered discussion only once. It was an effort for him to keep the peace for the rest of the day. I tried ever so often to give him little special things to do to release his inner energy. He watered the flowers, went to the garden to sell lettuce plants to a customer, took the weekly readers to the other sixth grade.

As I record this at the end of the day I ask myself: What has happened to this reasonable, well adjusted, and orderly boy I taught as a lad of ten years? Why do the dependable, reliable, orderly, tidy, cooperative traits, temporarily at least and in different degrees, seem to disappear? Why is he now lazy, sloppy, untidy, irresponsible, and at times unreliable? Why do I have to keep prodding him when ten months ago he was overenthusiastic and painstaking in all his undertakings? Why is he even aggressive at times toward me? Why is he so loud and boisterous on the playground? Why does he not care if he is so rough that he hurts others? Will I be able to face all of this with understanding and guide him properly through this disintegrating period of his preadolescence?

My study of child growth tells me it is normal for the preadolescent to sort of "go to pieces" at this stage and that since it is very necessary that they should go through this developmental phase, it is my duty to see that they be given a chance to go through it. I shall therefore try very hard not to get worried about it, to be as much of a pal as I can to those who need me, and to accept their aggressive behavior as a normal expression of an unavoidable phase of growth.

April 22: Sam has won a competitive race with the sixth- and seventh-grade boys to represent the school in the field-day finals. He is very proud of this. He confides in me to say that he doesn't have athletic trunks to run in and that he doesn't want to run in his bathing trunks; therefore, he thinks he must drop out. Paul gladly brought him a pair of shorts and he continued to participate. We are practicing on the field for the minuet. All the children participate and when the music supervisor came to see it today, she told them that they were the most graceful group she had and she was very proud of them. Sam was among the first to say "Thank you." When he ran off the field he pushed Dick down. He can't seem to keep his hands to himself. He must push and shove at times.

May 1: We had checked costumes and properties and all was ready for the program tonight. Sam was out of school and we were puzzled. James was sent to the home to see if he was sick. The mother said she didn't know whether she could get him to come to the program as he didn't feel well. The father came in and said, "Tell Miss B Sam will be there tonight and I will be there too." As I was still a bit worried and not sure but that Sam might feign illness, I drove by to check on it about an hour before the program. Out came Sam dressed neat as a pin, every hair combed in place, and wanted to know what he could do to help. He and Arnold were first to arrive at school and Sam played big brother in helping all the boys to get fixed. He volunteered to take a chair for me to the athletic field. He said the program would be too long for me to have to sit on the ground. All went well at the program. Everyone co-operated. There was no pushing even though the space assigned us on the field was small and we were crowded.

May 10: Sam's behavior has not been quite so spasmodic recently. He has taken quite an interest in making puppets and being in the plays. He has continued to manifest great interest in the school garden, has helped sell produce from it, takes great pride in keeping it well cultivated, and has taken many plants from it to transplant into his own home garden. The children admired his garden when our class went to see it. He was recognized as a skillful gardener by the children.

May 12: Sam expressed the same desire today that he so often has expressed lately. As we were listening to the news over the radio he said, "I do wish I were nineteen years old so that I could go into the army! If the war lasts six years I can get into it."

May 18: Sam has been so interested in our school garden. Now he is acting business manager and keeping books with a group of children. They are making daily sales of head lettuce. The money will

be deposited in the bank to be used by the group when they go camping next September.

May 20: Two first-grade children pulled up around 100 of our growing plants in the school garden. Sam was furious. He thought the children deserved great punishment of some kind. When it was suggested to him that they had perhaps never experienced the pleasure of having something they had planted grow and produce food, he was willing to help them. He took them to the garden with him many days and allowed them to help with the garden work to build up for them a better appreciation for a garden.

May 21: When talking with Sam about his vacation, he was warned to have something done about the rupture before he began working hard on the farm. He told me his father had him examined by a doctor and that he had no rupture. The time his mother was afraid of a rupture was after a boy hit him with a large brick for taking his brother Wayne's part in a fight. He said, "This boy that jumped on Wayne was bigger than I am, and you know he had no business jumping on a little boy like Wayne."

Second stocktaking

During the sixth year of Sam's school life and my second with him I was still not entirely aware of all that was happening to him. I still did not have a clear picture of how these anecdotes were related to crucial tasks which Sam was facing. After reading about preadolescence and hearing psychologists' talks on preadolescence and early adolescence, I began to see Sam's place in the growth spurt more clearly. Now in the light of the evidence on the case I begin to see what has happened to the once reasonable and well adjusted boy of ten years. I have a better understanding of Sam's lazy, sloppy, untidy, irresponsible, unreliable, aggressive, and unsocial behavior traits. One cannot see objectively at the time of writing the anecdotes.

As far as can be observed there seems to be no serious problem for Sam to face. At least the problems are of the type which may be considered normal and unavoidable; therefore, with the proper handling they may be solved. It does really seem that Sam is a healthy boy. There have been no new developments during this sixth year in school. Sam has been well all year. He does not seem to have as much energy as he exhibited in the fifth grade but this I attribute to his rapid growth.

The home environment, both past and present, I consider to be desirable. Parents have shown affection for Sam a number of times and have helped him to work through some of the problems which

he has faced during the year, particularly the minuet episode. Sam is accepted by many of his peers in the classroom. He is a leader with several of the boys. I think his early growth has something to do with that. His ability to influence the boys in his group was observed also in the minuet incident.

If Sam is physically fit, has a stable home background, has his needs for affection and belonging met both in family relationships and with members of his peer group, the answer to the behavior problems which Sam has exhibited must lie in the one factor of the developmental changes at work within him. Some of the symptoms observed coincide with characteristics which are typical of normal development during the preadolescent and early adolescent periods. A summary of Sam's outstanding behavior seems to show this:

1. Sam has exhibited quite some degree of disorder and regression. His progress is not smooth. At times he is the same genial personality that he was in the fifth grade, while at other times he seems to be at odds with people, materials, and time. A temporary disintegration of personality is normal for this stage of development. Many children seem to "go to pieces" and do not fit into any place, home or school, for a time. Growth at the preadolescent and early adolescent periods looks quite different from growth in infancy, early childhood, or later adolescence.

2. Sam displays a number of characteristics which might be cause for alarm if they were not recognized in him as those typical of the particular growth period in which he now is.

- a. He does not accept responsibility and fails often to finish work. He has suddenly become forgetful, as seen in his failure to bring promised material. He does not live up to his obligation for traffic-post duty.
- b. He dillydallies and changes work quite often. It is difficult to hold him to a job. This is not a deeply ingrained trait but one recently acquired.
- c. He is inattentive, does not listen to plans, and seems to find it a great effort to keep the place in reading or other group activities of like nature.
- d. He talks loudly, is boisterous, laughs unnecessarily, and plays hard in a very rough manner. He likes to tease and chase the others, often punching, grabbing, and hitting them.
- e. He is usually sprawled over a chair and shifts his position quite often. He often prefers to sit and daydream rather than to participate in activity.
- f. He suddenly begins in the middle of the year to reject completely all girls.

There are many things that made this a critical period for Sam: (1) Sam, a boy in the growth spurt, feels he has to be careful about anything that seems sissy; (2) he must find ways of directing his own activities instead of taking orders from others; (3) because of his rapid physical growth he becomes restless, hyperactive, irritable, aggressive, etc.

All of the above-mentioned behavior patterns have been identified and discussed by the psychologist who has met with us from time to time. I feel at the close of the year that Sam, with the help which is given to him by adults, is rapidly working out a number of his growth problems. It remains for me to watch and stand by for further assistance as we enter his seventh school year next fall. Sam has grown so rapidly this year. Will this growth continue during the summer and next school term? What behavior will Sam exhibit after a few more months of rapid growth? We shall see.

Sam in the seventh grade

September 7: A pleasant day. It was so nice to have the children again for the third year. They seemed very happy. Plans were made to unpack stored materials, books, etc. They knew just the places to locate things and how to arrange them conveniently. What a help! Sam offered much help. Paid his fees. Expressed joy over being in school again, but told me that if he were eighteen he should and would go help win the war. He wore a white shirt and looked so clean and neat. Sat by Arnold. They are still big pals and Sam is devoted to him and is very loyal to James, his double first cousin. He asked about my vacation. Said he went on a trip with his daddy during his vacation and looked for my home town along the way. Wanted to stop and visit with me. Sorry they had traveled a different route.

September 8: Mixed his paints and painted a picture, supposedly himself, riding on a huge load of hay pulled by a horse. As a lad of ten years he painted rather freely; now at twelve years he tends to substitute freedom in creating for precision in applying the paint smoothly. Consequently, although his ideas are good, his pictures lack the life and feeling they formerly had. His record shows that he has always chosen bright, clear, clean colors for his paintings. He still does. His ideal is to paint as well as Dora, one of his peers, whom he now admires very much. She is capable of doing a splendid job on a blockprint textile which requires precision, or on notebook covers and posters for advertising purposes. She is at her best when painting freely, but prefers the longer and more fixed jobs. Sam is always pleased to get on a committee of this kind with her. He hung

the burlap and pinned his picture on; helped get books unpacked and on the shelves. He suggested that I should have a shelf for just my things and that he could get a committee and construct one. They decided on one with a trough and he sent out a call for lumber. Said he would bring a plank and got promises from Carl and Arnold for others. James wanted to be on the committee and was included. Sam cut a paper pattern for proposed measurements and gave specifications to the four members of his committee. He was very polite to the four visiting teachers. They were impressed with his enthusiasm to have the room orderly and well equipped.

September 9: He showed a decided preference for Dora today. Asked to help her committee put up curtains. Said that "girls hardly know how to put up curtain fixtures straight like they should be." Painted a picture with Dora. Told me that he would probably learn to paint a little better if he could paint with an artist like Dora. I wasn't so sure. He especially enjoyed our poetry appreciation period. Asked for "Sea Fever," "Moon Folly," and "Overheard on a Salt Marsh." When James asked for "Hiding" he said, "Ah, boy, stop asking for those baby poems."

September 10: Sam was most enthusiastic over our plans to go to mountain camp for an overnight trip. He volunteered to find out prices of food stuff. Said he had helped his father deliver all summer and he knew lots about food prices, etc. Said he feared he would not get to go with us to camp. He brought in excellent information and placed price lists of food on the board, listing good food choices. The class got much functional arithmetic when calculating the cost of supplies and average cost to each child. Children were sent to stores to verify costs and did the calculating, the buying, the book-keeping, and all handling of the money. This led us to our new arithmetic workbooks as a source book for information and new practices were learned in correct figuring with fractional processes involving the four fundamentals and firsthand three-step problems.

September 11: The principal brought us four new pupils—two boys and two girls. Sam was heard to say, "It is all right to have some more pupils in here but I wish she hadn't brought us that Howard. We didn't need him." Howard is a very nice looking boy. I wonder about the remark. I found later that Howard has had problems in this school and others.

September 12: It was very warm today. Sam showed his old spirit of extreme restlessness for the first time this year. He entered discussion about the recent eclipse of the moon, but otherwise he did very little work, slouched in his chair, and twice left the room for very short intervals without making a request. His work is normally

very good. I wonder if his restlessness is connected with the fact that he is now pretty sure that his parents will not let him go to camp with us, or if his change of attitude is tied up in some way with Howard whom he seems really to distrust. (Howard wants to join his committee to help construct the new table with the trough. Sam says they do not need him nor want him. What does this mean? More than likely it is just a day that he can't help being disagreeable.) When talked with, he said he meant no harm about leaving the room to get water or go to bathroom but did so to save my time. Didn't see why I would care. Was led to see that the influence on other children comes in for consideration and that he can really save time for the teacher by cooperating properly with the other children. He said, "I will talk with you before I leave the room again. That is right for all of us because we made that agreement. My influence was bad on Howard; he went after I did."

September 14: When the class was making final and definite plans for camp today, Sam was restless and noncommittal. He was heard to say, "I'm not going. I don't want to go." On the playground he meddled with an affair concerning his cousin, Perry, in a fifth grade. Even though the teacher of the grade was present, he attempted to settle the argument. Another evidence of family loyalty. At a conference held with all the boys involved, the teachers of the boys, and the principal, it came out that Sam was paid by Perry's father to look after him at school and to and from school.

Perry is a rather irresponsible kind of boy who in the fourth grade got into many fights and quarrels with other children. Sam and the other boys were advised to help Perry in an entirely different way. It was explained to them that if Perry was to continue to grow in his ability to look out for himself and stand on his own feet, he must be permitted to do so without their interference. It was explained to them that Perry has a teacher very much interested in him and that she should be his chief adviser. Sam was told that Perry's father would be in conference with those concerned in carrying out this plan and that he would be advised to relieve Sam of his present responsibility concerning Perry. All parties agreed. Sam was reluctant to do so and acted in a boisterous manner, but when he finally had told the whole truth about his job of looking out for Perry and was shown that it was not a fair way to help Perry and his teacher, he gave in and really cooperated. Perry's father corroborated Sam's statements and was led to see a better way for Perry's development. He promised his wholehearted cooperation in the new plan.

September 15: A fight occurred today between Sam and Howard on the playground. Howard has not made many friends in the grade

so far. He came to us from a nearby town where he had been put out of school for continually making trouble. I am trying to help Howard find himself but so far he fails to keep his agreements and works at cross purposes with us. He seems to have sadistic tendencies and hurts the children. He admitted calling Sam a "bad" word. Sam started the fight. Sam couldn't see that he wasn't justified in getting into a fight with Howard. Both of them were very angry. Again we held a conference and talked things out. Howard seemed to make no effort to control his anger even after Sam begged his pardon for hitting him and promised to go more than halfway to help him become better adjusted to the class. He requested that Howard not "act smart" around him. He too was still angry. I could see that. Finally Howard promised and they seem to have been able to bury the hatchet for the present.

September 16: Sam told us in circle today that he couldn't go to camp with us because his daddy and mother wouldn't ever let him stay away from home overnight unless they were present. He said, "I have begged them very hard and I'll tell anybody I want to go but I can't." He rode his bicycle to the community garden four miles away and faithfully helped gather vegetables (for the camp trip). We had too many peas and needed apples. He took peas home and swapped them with his daddy for enough apples for everyone to have four at camp. He kept saying, "I wish Mother and Daddy would let me go; if Mother would consent Daddy would give in." He asked me to come and beg in his behalf but withdrew the request when I was uncertain about it being right for me to insist against their wishes. Sam's mother in her earlier years experienced shock when an automobile in which she and members of her family were riding ran off the road and was wrecked on a mountain slope. This mountain experience led to an area of avoidance for the mother and now becomes an influence in the life of Sam. Sam said he could go for the day if there was a way for him to get down that night. The rubber situation is acute and there seemed no sure way so we left next morning without Sam, much to our sorrow.

September 21: Back from mountain camp and we were all writing and painting our camp experiences, writing thank-you letters, and exchanging ideas. Sam was in the thick of it—an observer would probably not be conscious of the fact that his participation dated a year back when the class went up to spend a day. When he wrote a thank-you letter to the superintendent he said, "I'm sorry not to have been with the class on this trip but I'm still thanking you for the visit last year. I remember it well. I have never had such a good time."

September 22-30: There has been nothing unusual to record. Things have gone very smoothly. Sam has been restless and has not cared to work at times. At other times he has acted rudely to others but I feel that it is due to no lack of loyalty on his part. Howard has had his feelings on his sleeve toward Sam several times, but Sam seemed honestly to strive to help him get along and so far has overlooked Howard's temper tantrums. I have seen Sam take a great deal of Howard's horseplay with his chin up. He has been heard to say, "Howard acts so smart I wish I could put him in his place." Does he not often need to stay in his place, too? It is evident, however, that his peers share his feelings about Howard.

October 5: I was back in school today after a few days' illness and was checking on progress made. My substitute teacher left a note saying Sam was sent home because he just would not do his language lesson. That antagonistic spirit will come up! His excuse to me was that they were told to write a story in five minutes and that, faced with the fact that he must get to writing immediately, he couldn't think of a thing to write and couldn't get started. To the question, "What might have been a fairer way to have treated the visiting teacher?" He said, "I maybe should have acted like I was writing but I told her my teacher didn't require me to write on such short notice and would let me write later if I wasn't ready. She got mad and told me to go home." How can I help Sam see more clearly that he is not fair to himself when he considers only his first impulses and is not willing to think things through and take them in his stride?

October 7: Howard got very angry with James today during a ball game. He called him the "bad name" he had called Sam on a previous occasion. Sam resented this and made a dash after him—that clannishness for the kin again popping up. I asked Sam to pass Howard's behavior up and as Howard was very angry I asked him to go into the classroom for the rest of the period. I talked with him calmly for a long time and finally he promised to drop the matter. I felt it was not permanent with either one of them. When I went to lunch I saw Howard catch James and twist both his ears in a very rough manner. Sam and Arnold saw the same thing and they started after Howard. I called them back and asked them to leave the matter with me and to proceed home. They finally did and all seemed well for a while again. The two were seen playing in a ball game together and Sam came in with his arm around Howard's shoulder. I hoped this was genuine and not surface behavior. I feared it was not.

The teacher went with the class to the playground after school and they all went their various ways home. Half an hour later the

teacher left for home and noticed that the playground had been cleared of children. An hour later, however, a fellow teacher reported that Sam and Howard had been fighting and that, because Howard had really been given a licking, his grandfather had come and threatened to swear out a warrant for Sam. These boys are well matched in size and perhaps it could have been a less serious affair without the grandfather's interference.

October 8: Sam is not in school today. His brother in the fifth grade came to tell me that he stayed home because his mother was so worried and crying. Said his father and Howard's grandfather had come to an agreement and Sam got punished for following Howard to his aunt's yard and giving him a good beating.

October 9: Sam was in school. Howard was not. I asked Sam privately if he wanted to tell me about the trouble. His excuse was that he couldn't stand the way Howard was acting a bit longer. Said he observed that Howard had been using uncalled-for language around the girls and that when he asked him about that and also told him he had to let James, Sam's double first cousin, alone. Howard called him the "bad word" again and he just lost his temper. They got to fighting and he beat Howard up and said Arnold and James were there and they thought he did right. Sam said he was sorry he caused his daddy trouble. He would have minded me about staying out of trouble but that he couldn't help it when Howard kept making him so mad. He agreed that this should be the end of the feud as far as school is concerned. It should not be brought back to school. They must find some way to get it settled. Sam said, "I will do my best to do my part." Howard said, "You can do my part too. I'm not going to."

October 12-13: Sam at first was not willing to bring his dollar to help equip the school cafeteria. He preferred to go home to dinner at noon. He had to be told the plan all over again and was advised to pay from his own earnings and so help his father. This gave the teacher an opportunity to talk with Sam again about his impulsive manner. He had said he would rather "blow his money in." I didn't think he meant it and told him so. I didn't mention the lunch again. Next day he brought the lunch fee and urged everyone else to do so. Said he was anxious to start eating in the school cafeteria.

October 14-15: Sam has done so many nice things for the class lately. He has cooperated with Howard so far as is evidenced in classroom and on the playground; he has done more than his share of the adjusting, it seems.

October 16: When the class was stargazing (studying constellations) last evening, Howard misbehaved and played with the girls in a rough manner. Sam was heard to say to him, "See here, you

better know you've got to treat our teacher and our girls right. Nobody thinks it's funny that you act smart. I've tried to help you like a pal and the other boys have, too. Now you show us that you know how to stick to us and our teacher."

December: For the past three months the behavior pattern of Sam has been very smooth for a boy of his developmental age. Of course there have been the expected pushing, grabbing, and horseplay with his peers, and at intervals his aggression and restlessness have been dominant. At other times he has attacked his work and play with vim and vigor. He has been a moving influence in keeping the classroom an orderly workshop where he and his peers can work with each other in a pleasant, happy atmosphere.

I have noticed that there has been a cleavage at times between Sam and Arnold. This has caused frustration to both at times. Arnold forms a threesome with Joe and Paul and sits at the table with them. Sam sits elsewhere and buddies in school with his double first cousin, James. Arnold is the quiet type who identifies with his father. Some time after the fight between Sam and Howard I was visiting in Arnold's home. The father said he had stopped Arnold from playing so much with Sam in the afternoons. Since Sam and Howard had the fight, he was making Arnold stay at home. I wonder if that was wholesome for Arnold. Before I left, we got around to discussing the tradition of boys' fights through the ages. He recalled times he and his peers had had skirmishes and fights and even mentioned the fact of fighting among siblings. I hope he tied this up enough to realize that a clean fight between boys of equal size may still serve the purpose of clearing the atmosphere for better understanding and can still be forgotten.

I have wondered if his being overprotective and overanxious about such matters has affected both Arnold and Sam. They are still devoted friends but Arnold seems to try to please his father by pulling away from Sam at times. Sam and Walter, his brother who is two years older, have built a basketball court in their backyard. They play together there during leisure time each afternoon with their friends. Arnold at the present time is not allowed to come, even though his house is just behind the H's and he can see them playing. When I asked Arnold what he did in the afternoons his reply was that he got in his wood and coal and listened to the radio. He is a pale, thin child and needs out-of-door exercise.

The attitude of Sam's father about the fight seemed to be this: He wanted Sam to stay within the conventions of a give and take with boys of his size. He did not feel that a wholesome fight was disgraceful under those terms. He told me that he was not worried about Sam as long as he was willing to correct his mistakes, laugh off

his punishment, forget the offense, and take a new start. He reported that he said to Howard's father, "If you decide my boy shall go to juvenile court for fighting with your boy, you get your boy and I'll get mine and we'll go. Mine will not go without yours just because yours happened to get the licking." His attitude evidently led the other party to see that the gentlemen's way to settle it by mutual agreement was wise, for Howard's father backed down. Mr. H told me that he punished Sam after the affair was settled and he was not angry. He wanted to teach him that it often shows the part of better judgment to think things over and to take the advice of others rather than to get very angry and act in an overimpulsive manner. I judge that he punished Sam not so much for the fighting but for choosing the wrong manner in which to fight.

The reaction in the classroom seems to be this, as far as I can judge: The atmosphere between Sam and Howard has been cleared. They are temporarily nice to each other in school and on the playground. Howard respects Sam's opinions and Sam in turn is most considerate of Howard. The entire class is ever tolerant of Howard's erratic and aggressive behavior. Howard's adjustment is another very intriguing story that I cannot include here. As far as I am able to judge, Sam's behavior seems to be that of a normal boy of his developmental age. Howard's seems deeply rooted in his personality, ingrained to such an extent that regardless of his surroundings he is so full of suppressed aggression and hatred that, at times, it seems impossible for him to get along with anyone. Many of Howard's personality traits seem due to early home environment and to the inconsistent treatment he has received during his fourteen years, especially in his infancy and early childhood. Sam's aggressive behavior trends do not seem as deep for he easily swings back into his old pattern.

Early in this school year some of the older boys were smoking. When I asked Sam what he thought of this he said, "I've been meaning to tell you that I took up smoking last summer. I ran around with Walter (older brother) and got to smoking. I wish I hadn't started and I won't smoke at school for none of the other boys in our class smoke. You know we said in the fifth grade we would try to wait until we were grown." He broke the promise not to smoke at school later and voluntarily told about it because he said he knew I might smell the smoke on his breath. Maybe smoking makes him feel grown up.

February 5: The members of the class are swapping experiences. Sam said, "I made three people happy. I found their lost pocketbooks. One had around \$150 in war bonds in it." The children asked what reward he received. He said, "I didn't want a reward.

I know how glad I would have been if they had been mine and the person finding them had returned them to me." He found his brother Walter's pocketbook in his uncle's yard where they had doctored a sick cow during the night. He and Walter both were very glad he found it. The other two he found in the church. He said to the children, "You know I am sexton now at our church and as soon as I saw the make-up of the pocketbook containing the bonds I knew it belonged to my friend, Sonny W's wife. The superintendent and I took it out there that night for I knew they would be worried as soon as they missed it. I found the owner of the other one the next day."

February 10: Today we took our recreational period to go skating at the YMCA near the school. Sam, Arnold, and James are the only members of the class who do not skate. Julia brought a pair of skates for Sam. He learned after many a fall. Boys and girls both joined in helping him learn. He was anxious for Arnold and James to learn. He gave James a turn with the borrowed skates but Arnold, against much begging, still wouldn't participate in learning and now was the only one on the sideline.

February 13: A social call was made to the home today to talk with the mother, who has been sick, and to ask the father to conduct the devotional for PTA. Walter and Wayne were the only members present. Mr. H was leading the singing in a church revival at a nearby town. Sam was singing high tenor in a quartet and the mother was visiting a sick neighbor. They have a new piano and Walter would have me sit down while he played three selections. They both regretted the fact that Sam was not home to sing for me. Wayne said, "He can really sing. Walter plays the piano at church and 'Cotton' sings. Everybody just can't take their eyes off of Sam, he sings so pretty." Walter said, "Daddy just never would let me join the quartet and go around singing but he decided to let Sam."

When I commented on a large framed photograph hanging on the wall and asked Walter if the pretty girl's picture belonged to him, they both laughed heartily. Wayne said, "Don't you know who that is? She is in your room, That's Dora, Sam's girl. She gave him that picture and about \$2 for Christmas. He gave her a four-dollar lamp." Dora lives next door. They were playmates and pals when she joined his class in the third year of school. Thinking back a bit from this incident, I recall many times when he rejected all girls. Is he growing up fast? Both Sam and Dora have been hail-fellow-well-met, well liked members of the group. Perhaps the incident Wayne related to me would indicate that at Sam's present developmental stage, he is proudly assertive rather than shy and withdrawing about his attachment to the opposite sex.

February 15: This morning Sam told me that his father would conduct the devotional and then go to his other meeting if the PTA president would excuse him after that part of the meeting. Since I was to let him know I dropped by the next evening. Sam came to the door and invited me in. Mr. and Mrs. H came from the supper table. They both seemed very pleased over the invitation to conduct the devotional. They came early to PTA and looked at some things Sam had done in the classroom and showed great interest in his progress. Mr. H said he hoped Sam would make a good high school student (in this school system high school begins with the eighth grade). Said he had made a mistake in letting Walter go to a rural school for the eighth grade and that he was now repeating in our own school system.

February 17: Sam told me today that whatever belonged to him or to Walter was half the other's. "There's just one thing we have trouble about and that's when he wears my Sunday clothes to school," he said. He also said, "You know Wayne's the baby. We all sort of pet him, especially Mother." Several times during the past months Sam has gone to talk with Wayne's teacher trying to assure himself that Wayne acts right in school. On one occasion when tests were given in our classroom and part of the class was sent to visit with another grade, Sam said, "I would like to go to Wayne's room, but don't send me there for he has been acting up smart lately and it's better for me not to go in there. He'll get out of that; he is just a little petted."

February 23: Today our class is very sad. Arnold's mother died suddenly during the night. Sam is upset and overcome with the idea of doing something to help Arnold bear his trouble. The mother passed away in a hospital in the early morning and Arnold had not come home when Sam left for school. Sam met me on the path and said he came early so he could ask me if he could go back and see Arnold for a minute when he came home. Ten minutes after the class assembled Sam came back bringing a dollar of his own money for the class to get a spray of flowers. Others rallied to him, insisting that he not take all his money but let them help. They planned to take their own money for contributions to Sam's house after school and he was going to the florist with his daddy to select the flowers. His father would help them really get something nice, he said. When I called at Arnold's home later, Sam showed me a beautiful wreath he selected and told me the class contribution was \$5. Sam was sticking close to Arnold.

March 10: There have been very few changes in Sam's behavior of late so I have recorded no anecdotes. Today as he entered the classroom I appraised him in the following way. He is now a tall, well

built boy, carries his shoulders up and his chest out and has a healthy, clear skin. He is neat in appearance once more. There is such a contrast to that earlier period when he was so unkempt. Instead of the flagging shirttail he is wearing a new green sweater which is one of three that he has bought for himself this winter. Sam has changed so very rapidly—first a very neat boy, next a sloppy untidy fellow, and now once again interested in keeping himself orderly and clean. Sam is now twelve years and eleven months old. He is five feet, nine inches tall and weighs 145 pounds.

When Sam entered the room today he greeted me and stopped to chat with several classmates. Then he went to work with a group of eight boys who are painting a long frieze picturing the twenty types of combat airplanes now being used by the Army and Navy. They seem to share ideas and to work pleasantly together. Jim, who is on the committee wiring an electric map of the world showing the battlefronts, asked Sam to help with the attachment of wires through the transformer. Frank wanted advice and help on a large model bomber plane that his committee is constructing. Sam rendered aid to both. He seemed willing to receive and give help throughout the day. He contributed to discussion, took part in research work and language as well as the skill subjects with a degree of success at least comparable to most of his classmates. When we went to the music room for rhythms Sam was the first one to step out when a march was played. He wanted to be the leader of the military band and he put his followers through some rigid marching and intricate formations as the record was played. Boys and girls both stepped into formation with vim and vigor.

The class engaged the YMCA playroom and invited me to chaperone a skating party this evening. Their own appointed treasurer collected an equal amount from each of them to defray expenses. Arnold's father has had hospital expenses and sadness in the family. Sam asked Arnold to be his guest and so made a double contribution. Today during school a group of girls and boys prepared refreshments for the party. Skating is a sport they all enjoy.

March 11: It was interesting to watch this group as the party progressed last evening. Individuals within the group have been emerging from childhood to early adolescence. Five of the boys—Sam, Paul, Howard, Mason, and William—seem well into the growth spurt, others are still immature. All the girls except Juliet and Alice seem to be entering the period of early adolescence.

At first the crowd entered wholeheartedly into the fun. Then Juliet and Alice grew tired of the boy-girl skating and withdrew to the side to start a game of checkers. Sam caused shrieks of laughter

and yelling by flinging a jointed toy snake into a huddle of the skating girls. Joan, Mildred, Nancy, and Dora—the leaders of the more mature group—got great fun out of this episode. It seemed to give them a chance to chase and hit at the boys so that they might experience the delight of being chased in turn. Jim, Dick, Frank, and James—the more immature boys of the group—found a basketball and, seemingly oblivious to all the chasing and squealing, engaged their skill in putting the ball through the goal. It was very evident that while Sam, Paul, Howard, Mason, and William were interested to a degree in the girls, the girls' interest in the boys was already a more fixed pattern. Sam stuck close to his best pal, Arnold, and left no stone unturned to make him have a good time. Arnold was just as loyal to Sam.

Sam, though chronologically the youngest boy in the class, was one of the first to mature physically. He now seems to be facing the needs and desires for boy-and-girl social gatherings. Some of the late maturers in the class are just now at the girl-rejection period. Sam also seems to enjoy a feeling of social security among the boys. He mixes successfully with his peers at school and with the gang he and his older brother, Walter, run with in the community.

Supplementary information

Mental-test findings (seventh grade): On October 6 the class was given the Kuhlmann-Anderson tests. Sam was then twelve years, five months, twelve days old. Test results showed his mental age as eleven years, nine months and his IQ as 95. That was around an average score for his class. Sam moved in his chair and demonstrated facial contortions which might have indicated that he was very restless and frustrated the day he took the tests. Perhaps his test results another day would have varied quite a bit.

Friendship choices (seventh grade): A sociometric friendship test was given the class September 24. The results showed Sam and Arnold as centers of attraction. Sam received seven votes and he chose three of this group who chose him: Arnold, James, and Dick. He rejected Judy as a friend. She is a large, overgrown girl who chose him as her best friend. Sam was rejected by Jim and Frank, the two smallest boys in the group. Another sociometric friendship test, given November 11, showed Sam the object of five choices; he chose two of these again, Arnold and James. He was still rejected by Frank and Jim, whom he also rejected. On a test of choice of work partners Sam was chosen by five children. He chose two of these five, James and Will. He also chose Arnold but Arnold did not reciprocate. Another sociometric test was given on February 14. The

class as a whole took fewer choices on this test. Sam held his own with his three mutuals and received another vote on the friendship test. He did not reject anybody but received a rejection from Jim.

Some of Sam's written work (seventh grade):

What I Would Do if I Had Five Hundred Dollars

If I had five hundred dollars I would get Daddy to rent a farm. I would buy a pair of young mules and enough tools to run a farm with and all the money I had left over, if any, I'd have to buy enough seed to plant the whole farm. I would want my mules to be old enough that they were already broken to work and I could saddle them. I would want to move back up around Fassifern. I would want to move close to a river where I could go swimming every day. I would finish school at Fassifern High School. Then when school was out I could work the whole day long. I would have to get up every morning about five-thirty, feed and water the mules, milk the cows, feed and water the chickens. Then it would be time to go to work. I'd work until dinner time, go home, eat a good country dinner, rest a little bit and go back, work hard until sundown. When I went home to eat my supper and rest I would be ready to sleep good.

Three Wishes

If I had three wishes and all would come true, this they would be. First, I would wish that I was a wealthy man and would never have anything to worry about. Even then I would want to work in some kind of office or a wholesale house. Second, I would want to live out in the country and my own house. I'd have a little branch running down beside the house with shade trees all around and have a good saddle horse to ride backwards and forward to work. I would want about five acres of land to raise my vegetables and fruits on. And a big river down below the house where I could go fishing and bathing any time I got ready and nobody could run me off. Third, I would want to own a big car; to have my own chickens. I'd go out and gather baskets of eggs. I'd have my own hogs to raise. I would like to have about four good hunting dogs. I'd go out at night and hunt until I got ready to come home. I'd get up the next morning, saddle my horse and go to work, happy and free.

When I Grow Up

When I grow up, I want to be a boss at a box factory or in an office. I'll get a big pay check every week. I can tell people

to do this and that. If they don't do it, I can "fire" them. James is going to be one of my slaves. I will put the most work off on him and give him the least pay. I would hire Arnold to be my secretary. He will be a good one.

That Man I Admire

I know a young man who is always so nice and clean. He keeps his hair combed well. He is always on time for Sunday School and church. He always plays sports with us (Walter and me) and helps us with anything we have to do. Uncle Sam has got him in the Army now. He writes to me lots. He said he had not got to go to church in six weeks. This boy I admire was my Sunday School teacher.

What I Think About When I'm Alone

When I'm all alone by myself, I am always thinking about what I am going to do after I get home from school and on the weekend. I think about my home work and when I am going to do it. I think about feeding my chickens, cow, and hogs. I think about where I am going to get my bread scraps. But most of the time I am thinking about where I am going after Sunday School.

Looking back over three years with Sam

I have known Sam for three years now and have observed his progression from childhood to adolescence. I look to see what I have gathered about him in three major aspects of human development: the physical being, relationships with others, and the individual personality.

The child as a physical being: The picture of Sam's general health has not changed greatly. For the third year he has seemed to be a healthy boy. He has attended school regularly and has entered into work and play with an enthusiasm which seems to spring from a healthy state. I still have not been able to get a clean bill of health from a physician.

How fast is he growing and where is he in the growth cycle? Quite a bit of the record has had to do with this story. During the first four years in school he grew at the moderate rate characteristic of childhood. During the latter part of his year in the fifth grade he began a spurt in growth that reached its maximum during the sixth grade. He grew about five inches that year. This spring, in the seventh grade, when he is reaching the end of his thirteenth year of age, he is sixty-nine inches tall and weighs 145 pounds. His parents

are tall—his father is a very tall man. I am not certain just where Sam now is in his growth, but it looks as though he were in that period of steadily declining growth rate which characterizes later adolescence. The growth spurt occurred at a relatively young age for Sam. His increases in height and weight have been intense and appear to be concentrated in a shorter period of time than will be the case with other boys in his peer group. The rapid development of secondary sex characteristics and changes in body build have been accompanied by temporary changes in behavior characteristics. Fortunately nutrition, rest, sleep, and physical energy were adequate during this period of rapid growth, and increase in height did not take place at the expense of weight.

What is known concerning his energy output? The record pictures Sam during fifth grade as a very active and energetic participant in all activities. He worked hard and he played hard. He asked to be permitted to play longer. He was always ready for more work in school and stayed with a task until it was finished.

In the sixth grade, after he had entered his growth spurt, the picture was somewhat different. Some days he had a high rate of energy output and seemed restless and very active. Frequently on such occasions he became a class disturber, grabbing and picking at others. He invited and enjoyed a good fight with one his size. On other days he slouched lazily and seemed wrapped up in his thoughts. His patience and his attention span were short and he was forgetful of his tasks. He seemed to try ever so hard to keep that inner energy up, but there seemed at times a lack of physical and mental control. During this period there seemed to be a comparative slowing down in Sam's attitude toward his work. He rebelled in some areas in academic and creative art activities when a time element was involved. At times he became frustrated and seemed to feel a bit insecure and on rare occasions boldly asserted that he would not perform an assigned task. I recall the incident recorded in regard to his feelings and reactions concerning some reading research. Was this a sign of temporary fatigue due to growth?

Relationship with others: I look next at all data which give a picture of Sam's relationship with other people. I wish to consider his past and present relationships with parents and siblings as well as with his peer group. There have been many evidences recorded which show the parents' acceptance of and affection for Sam. This has seemed to exist from infancy to the present.

1. The parents wanted this child at birth and have given him an abundant amount of love and affection.
2. The parents have been interested in keeping him well nourished and well clothed.

3. Parents now pay the child for work done outside the home. Sam contributes his share toward work of the home but is paid for certain jobs.

4. The children accompany the parents on trips. Sam often goes with his father on short journeys.

5. Father is interested in Sam's musical ability. Allows him to sing in a quartet.

6. Parents display interest in child's plans and ambitions.

7. Parents are quite concerned when Sam is ill or hurt.

8. Parents evidence trust in the child. He goes on many shopping trips and handles money for the family.

9. Parents are not in discord concerning the handling of Sam's behavior. The father seems to be the more understanding in his treatment of Sam. The mother seems a bit lax or overprotective at times.

10. Parents are interested in the child's school progress.

11. Parents speak in praise of the child.

There is no doubt about the fact that Sam identifies very closely with his father, although he appears to care a great deal for his mother also. The occasion when Sam was so anxious to go camping with his class produced in Sam a mixed behavior pattern for several days, his behavior fluctuating between aggression and submissiveness. This was due, perhaps, to a feeling that his mother was being overprotective. She seemed to fear for Sam, now a big boy in his own estimation, to go camping with his group for one overnight trip. In this incident it seemed very clear that Sam felt some injustice, that his mother who was spasmodically indulgent, was now denying him on an anxiety basis this great pleasure. His family loyalty was shown, however, when a mutual agreement was reached that the teacher should not insist on his going against the wishes of his mother. He hastened to say, "Mother and Daddy would both let me go if Mother felt well. It is better for me to stay but I sure wish I could go."

Here is noted a very decided loyalty in this family connection. It has been evidenced so often, also, in Sam's relation with his cousins, James and Perry, in school. As an example of this, on the Guess Who test Sam brought his paper to explain to me that he would choose James as one of his best friends because he was a relative and therefore he did not want to leave him out.

How does Sam stack up with his peers? Is he accepted by them and does he accept them as friends? Throughout his school days Sam has had friends. On the friendship tests he is one of the most accepted members of the group. He has continued to hold at all times a close relationship with Arnold and James. He seems to be

able to assume leadership. He can control a situation and can also take his turn as a follower. His peers often put him in charge of committees and they say he puts over whatever job he assumes. This was true in his fifth year in school and has been true also during his seventh year. The exception was while Sam was showing an unsettled form of behavior during his sixth school year. It was noticeable that even at times when his erratic behavior was producing quite a problem for the teacher and for his classmates he had quite a following of friends. This was demonstrated during the minuet episode in the sixth grade. There were numerous times when Sam found it hard to maintain his smooth relationships with his peers and his teacher. While his total past experience seemed to have made it easy for him to adjust to others and to face reality, during the period in which he was showing such rapid growth, there appeared to be a slump in smooth functioning. In summary, Sam has maintained an important place in friendship, work, and play with his group over a long period of time. His cheerful, happy-go-lucky disposition seems to be an advantage in winning friends.

What have been Sam's relationships to his teachers? Throughout his childhood period he seems to have accepted his teachers and been accepted by them. The anecdotal material compiled from the cumulative record as well as information obtained directly from former teachers bears out the statement that his relationship with teachers was good. Then during his sixth year at school he suddenly rebelled at certain tasks set for him and demands made upon him by the teacher. For a period of time, without rhyme or reason, he openly refused to comply with requests of the teacher. This I interpreted to be a sign of growth, his need to prove to himself that he was not dominated entirely by adults. Children may naturally feel dependent on the people they love but may at the same time act aggressively toward them in order to feel really independent inside. Also before the gang Sam wished to prove himself independent of the adult.

In the anecdotal record one incident was given concerning a research reading period in which Sam stated that he was not going to participate further. It seemed to me that this was not an indication of ingrained stubbornness and intentional disobedience. In the first place, he had evidenced restlessness in other ways during that day. When he was given a temporary chance—a musical record played on the Victrola—and he realized that his own anger would not be met with anger, he was a different boy. He could understand definitely then why he would eventually be expected to face the facts about that piece of work. The work was then voluntarily done and in a satisfactory manner. Did he not need some time for reflection that

he might have a definite part in making his own decisions and adjustments? On that particular day Sam stayed around after school to water the flowers, mop the rug, and chat with the teacher. Did he not grow in self-control for having faced and worked through that situation? No surface apology was exacted for the disobedience. It seemed that the loyalty, cooperation, and genuine interest which he exhibited for many days following offered more genuine proof than any surface apology could have done.

Sam's relationships with the teacher during his seventh school year has shown increasing cooperation and loyalty. For the latter half of this year his behavior pattern has been unusually smooth. In making an interpretation I have, therefore, attempted to look at three years of growth and development rather than any one brief period. Sam seems to have worked out satisfactorily his relationship to adults. He does not now need openly to rebel in order to prove his independence. He has other means of doing this.

What is Sam's relationship to the opposite sex? During Sam's year in the fifth grade he was not overly conscious of girls. He did not seem to mind sitting by a girl or participating in a game with a girl as partner. This state continued until about the middle of the sixth grade when Sam and his followers (the early maturers) showed a desire to be with their own sex and at times to exhibit dislike or hostility toward members of the opposite sex. This appeared to be another unavoidable phase of his growth. Sam was faced with a terrific battle within himself when he took part in the minuet for the countywide field-day program.

In his seventh school year he at first covertly and later openly admires Dora, likes to work with her, does many acts of kindness for her, and wants to play long with girls on skating parties and other occasions. He seems to have lived through the period of boy-girl cleavage and entered the phase of experimenting in boy-girl social activities and learning new patterns of social behavior. He is "practicing" on certain girls, Dora in particular, and gradually through teasing, chasing, hitting, talking with, and working with girls, he is learning his role with the opposite sex.

Sam's individual personality: What does Sam think of himself? What is his ability in relation to others? What does his experience mean to him? What are his values and aspirations? Is his personality integrated? In taking a backward glance I am able to see Sam as he is now in relation to various stimuli that have been influencing factors in making him what he is. I have sometimes been able to get a picture of what Sam might be striving to have come true, through observing and studying some piece of behavior. His restlessness, his

inattention in class, his daydreaming have at times been the results of his efforts to feel adequate in capacity and skill while all the while much of his energy was being used in the process of growing.

During the sixth school year he at times displayed a sensitivity to criticism as evidenced by his mumbling and fussy tone of voice. This behavior pattern was not a fixed one and soon disappeared. The behavioral picture is varied. Many little items and incidents are remembered, some of them clearly expressive of ordinary and everyday child behavior, others seemingly expressive of characteristic traits of Sam. His basic pattern seems to sway between restlessness, a will to dominate, and a basic desire to correct and overcome erratic tendencies. There seems to be nothing especially to worry about in the basic trends, although some seem undesirable at times and under some circumstances.

In regard to Sam's ability, he is able to achieve a satisfactory degree of success in most of his undertakings. Sam seems to have confidence in himself and in others. He is willing to tackle new situations without fear of failure. I have recorded experiences in his background where he has had many opportunities to accept leadership and to feel that he could adequately meet a situation. His ability to create with raw materials has been pointed out in a number of anecdotes. His achievement in tool subjects, such as reading, arithmetic, language, science, is good. He enters into music, poetry, and dramatic activities with much zest. When at work or play with others, Sam does more than his share rather than neglect a job. He believes in finishing a task when he has started it. He seems tolerant of any weaker ones but expects the strong to share responsibilities. Sam shows a pride in the school. He likes to help keep halls, grounds, and bathroom in order. He has served on the school council and likes to promote school improvement projects. He was a faithful worker when the class planted thrift around the retaining wall.

What is Sam's experience background and what does his past experience mean to him? In attempting to develop an understanding of what Sam now is, in terms of his previous growth, the evidence I have accumulated up to the present time would indicate several things:

1. Sam evidently grew up with a feeling of security within his family. He undoubtedly experienced the feeling of belonging. He was wanted at birth and has always been loved by his parents, his brothers, and his grandparents. He has reciprocated this love.

2. Sam's need for food, rest, sleep, and play seem to have been adequately taken care of so that he continued to grow and to develop assurance and security.

3. Breast weaning and toilet training were gradual processes. During the socialization process he was evidently not obsessed with feelings of fear, anxiety, and guilt.

4. Evidently his earlier experiences with authority were handled with affection rather than severity and harshness.

5. When he entered school he seemed able to make the transition from the home family to the school family with smoothness and a satisfactory degree of adequacy. He was liked by his classmates.

6. When his peer group was spending a school day at a nearby mountain camp during Sam's fifth year in school, it was noted that such traits as playing fairly and helping others, which had their beginnings in early childhood, were still in operation.

Sam's experiences seem to be those of a normal boy. Health seems to have been good and his relationship with others adequate and satisfying. He has been greatly influenced by the atmosphere of religion in the home, the love of the soil which he has acquired from parent and grandparent, and the family pride in their ancestry.

What are Sam's aspirations? Sam seems from his conversation and his written work to have an outspoken picture of himself. He likes farm life. He appears to fantasy living there as have his forebears. Sam dreams of having a horse to ride. He takes great pride in the fact that they have a good cow and he enjoys feeding and milking the cow. He helps to raise pigs too and is faithful to keep them well fed. Sam's attitudes and values are in the main in accord with reality. Reference has been made throughout to his attitude toward work and play. From both he gets a feeling of much satisfaction. He assumes a wholesome attitude toward the work and play of others. He is proud when his friends succeed.

He has the ability to take a good joke and to joke with others. When his plans are thwarted he can take it with his chin up. Sam is free to share his possessions with others. He was so proud of his first big earnings of money that he set his friends up at the café. He spoke of it as "blowing his money in." He is not ashamed to do hard work to earn his money. At times he has loaned small amounts of money to others to attend school plays or for some other purpose.

He seems proud of his physical strength and power. He likes to talk about what a great athlete his grandfather was and how he could handle a situation calling for muscular manpower. He likes to talk about his early childhood and to tell anecdotes handed down about his kinfolk. He seems proud of his ancestors. His special pride and joy is his father. My growing understanding of Sam was gradual and became more meaningful in relation to the total child as my participation in the child study continued. I have been able to identify some of the developmental tasks with which Sam had

to deal. I have been better prepared to aid him in working through those tasks.

Some tasks which Sam has faced and is still facing are (1) managing a rapidly growing body—learning motor skills; (2) establishing belonging in a gang; (3) working through relationships with opposite sex—learning his role with girls; (4) facing changing mores and values of his peers; (5) accepting attitudes and values in accord with family, class, and cultural standards; (6) learning new bases for social acceptance; (7) learning the meaning and place of authority—learning acceptable ways of asserting one's independence; (8) exploring the adult role; (9) learning to use judgment; (10) meeting school requirements as to knowledge and skills; and (11) exploring the physical world.

As I look back over the three years with this boy I see many hurdles he had to jump while adjusting to the rapid physical change. I was conscious of many places where there were definite inner strivings which called for unusual self-control. He seemed to need much reassuring love, a feeling that people were not against him but wanted to understand his point of view and his problems during this bewildering period of early adolescence.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The case of Sam illustrates how the child-study program met the motivations of teachers who desired to continue for several years with the same group of children. Sam's teacher observed directly the sequence of developmental changes that took place in him over a period of three years. She saw him shift from one array of developmental tasks to another that is characteristic of the next phase of growth. She was able to perfect her observational skill, to see more pertinent happenings each year, and certainly her ability to interpret the meaning of what she learned about Sam increased greatly during this period. Best of all, she was able to come to the end of her period with this group with the feeling that she actually had functioned effectively to help these boys and girls accomplish the important nonacademic learnings that are such important developmental tasks during this period.

There were so many occasions in her three years of dealing with Sam when his teacher could have retarded his development, impaired his capacities to achieve a mature adult role, and

warped his relation with authority. For example, she could have prolonged a temporary period of rebellion by insisting upon immediate, childlike submission to her directives. She could have built up in him anxiety, guilt, and more hostility toward herself and other adults, if she had met his aggressions toward her with resentment and retribution. She could have crushed his budding manhood by ridicule and disapproval. She did none of these. Instead, she stood by him and communicated to him in many ways her genuine friendliness and interest in his welfare. She held Sam firmly within certain tolerable limits of behavior, but in doing so she always gave him time to get hold of himself and alternatives from which to choose as he approached those limits. The case of Sam illustrates the kind of professional work with a child that must yield high and lasting personal satisfactions to many members of the profession.

What use is it to study one or two children when I have to deal every day with thirty-five or forty others? This question was raised repeatedly at the beginning of the child-study work in the various school systems cooperating with the Commission on Teacher Education. The story of Sam suggests some answers to this recurring query. Any textbook on adolescent psychology describes only in words the common signs and symptoms that mark the period of pubescence in most boys. But Sam's teacher saw them with her own eyes and learned to identify these signs and symptoms in actual behavior. She came really to understand, through her own cumulated experience with Sam, that many of these annoying actions were indications of healthy growth toward maturity. She actually saw Sam move into a disturbed, erratic period and then emerge from it at a new level of maturity. In Sam this teacher met a boy who put flesh and blood on the bare bones of verbally stated scientific generalizations and, because she grappled with these developmental factors with understanding, she developed real skill in helping other children with some of the major tasks they meet in growing up.

Sam was a laboratory par excellence for building this teacher's skill in the scientific method. Books and lectures had told her the

kind of behavior that often accompanies pubescent acceleration in growth. They also had acquainted her with the nature and range of individual differences in children. Repeatedly she had heard that children struggling with the same fundamental problem often exhibited very different symptoms, different conduct. She had been warned that the same behavior in different children may have very many different causes.

What about Sam then? His actions had the earmarks of a textbook example of the rebellious pubescent, but was he? Perhaps something at home, or some physical disorder, or some bad influence from his peers, or from an adult was causing him to behave as he did. How was the teacher to know?

She did the only sound thing. She formed the temporary hypothesis that Sam's behavior was a function of his phase in the growth cycle and dealt with him from day to day as though this were true. Meantime she began to check each line of facts about Sam to verify or refute this idea that Sam's irritability, rebelliousness, carelessness, aggressiveness, and inconsistency were a function of pubescent development. Her second stocktaking at the end of the sixth grade shows how well she did this checking. She studied his physical growth table and found his rate of growth accelerating into a typical pubescent spurt but coming a little early in terms of chronological age. She explored his previous life at home and at school and the facts fitted together to show balanced, healthy, happy growth during infancy and childhood; so this change in Sam could not be laid at the door of earlier traumatic events. She surveyed Sam's current situation both in and out of school for other pressures that might be disturbing the smooth flow of his life. Nothing could be found. None of her investigations unearthed data to account for his behavior on any basis other than the hypothesis she had temporarily accepted. Sam's behavior was a function of his struggle with the common problems of early adolescence. And in arriving at this conclusion Sam's teacher had practiced and clarified for herself the proper use of scientific generalizations and of facts about an individual child. She had learned through experience how the two must be related to each other and used

together as a basis for judgments in dealing with a child in and out of the classroom.

Of course this careful study of Sam over a period of three years made Sam's teacher increasingly sensitive to the problems that adolescents in general face. Note her statement regarding the developmental tasks with which he was grappling. But Sam could not be studied in a vacuum; her anecdotes are replete with references to Arnold, James, and Howard. They too were boys who were entering the pubescent cycle of growth, but their behavior often differed radically from that of Sam. She could see the differential readinesses and habitual approaches to life with which these boys met their common developmental tasks. Sam, confident and robust, accustomed to follow his impulses and, for the most part, to find these impulses justified and approved, fairly shook his small world as he vigorously attacked his adolescent problems. Howard approached his growing-up tasks more deviously. His approach was obviously marked by a distrust of life that had deep roots in his past and possibly in his family. "Sad eyed" Arnold had to add the load of his mother's death and his father's interfering protectiveness to his already difficult problems of pubescence. This teacher came to see each of these boys, and thirty-five or more other boys and girls, as posing individual variations of the universal problems of adolescents. She perceived the necessity for adapting her ways of dealing with their needs to fit the special circumstances and backgrounds of each individual. And she came to see this through the intensive study of one boy interacting with his classmates.

One other aspect of the study of Sam perhaps deserves mention. The sequence of three summaries at the end of each year gives evidence of the clarification of a conceptual framework used to order the data and the principles that applied to Sam. At the end of the fifth grade Sam's teacher discussed the following topics: health and physical stamina, relation to classmates, relation to father and mother, and developmental history in infancy and earlier school life. At the end of the sixth grade she discussed the same topics and added an analysis of his be-

havior as an expression of characteristic adolescent phenomena. In the final summing up she discussed Sam's health, his changing rates of growth, his fluctuating rate of energy output, his relations to his parents and siblings, his identification with his father and with family lore, his relationship to his peers and his role in the class group, his relationship to his teachers, his relationship to persons of the opposite sex, his image of himself, his abilities in various directions, his experience background and what it had done for him, his aspirations, attitudes and values, and finally, the constellation of developmental tasks he faced. This certainly represents a desirable and practical extension of the recurring-pattern type of analysis illustrated in Chapter VII. Here we have seen a teacher actually relate facts about a child to scientific generalizations about human development and behavior. We have been able to observe the formulation of an hypothesis about a boy's behavior and the verification of that hypothesis. Here we have seen a teacher dealing effectively with a boy in several very trying situations on the basis of this insight and we have seen the boy make excellent progress toward the mastery of his early adolescent developmental tasks.

IX

Studying the Interaction of Children in Groups: Part One

UP TO THIS point in the report we have described how teachers studied *individual* pupils and learned to interpret significant information about them. In contrast, we shall use this and the following chapter to show how a teacher studied the structure and dynamics of the child *society* that took form in her classroom, how she observed the influence of group dynamics on the actions of individual children, and how she analyzed the role of one girl in the evolution of this society during a school year. We draw the general conclusion from this material that the simple procedure of bringing children together into groups at school results in extensive interaction among them through which some of their most important social learning occurs. This material also demonstrates, we believe, that it is most important for a teacher to notice this interaction, to study the factors that make it what it is, and to be sensitive to its influence on the development of particular pupils.

THE CHILD SOCIETY IN THE CLASSROOM

Child societies in classrooms have only recently become the objects of fruitful scientific investigation. The findings are scattered, often inconclusive, and as yet inadequate to provide a full description of the social phenomena to be found. But a significant beginning has been made, enough to indicate that further research will add greatly to our knowledge of the processes involved in social development. To guide the reader's study and interpretation of the records kept by one teacher in

the child-study program we shall state briefly a few of the hypotheses so far developed to account for the structure and dynamics of these child societies and to interpret their influence upon the development of individual children.

How the child society develops

Clique formation and the gradual emergence of a child society come about whenever a number of children of school age are brought together and do things together through a considerable period of time. Daily interaction among classmates gradually builds up a series of feelings toward one another—relationships—that imply different roles for different individuals in their group activities. The children come to see themselves and others as belonging to a group in terms of these roles; they accord different status or prestige values to these various roles. For example, some children are more active, physically stronger, or more skillful than others in playing the games in which a majority participate. Some are more attractive, responsive, or considerate in their social interaction; some are quicker and more apt in originating ideas for play activities which others will accept. A few are more mature or have had more communication with somewhat older children from whom they have acquired knowledge, ideas about activities, or codes of conduct which they emulate or show off to their peers. Children also differ greatly in the experience that they bring to the group from their homes, and in the patterns of behavior toward other children which stem from their habitual responses to their brothers and sisters. Indeed, the home situations of some children give them so little security that the resulting emotional tensions drive them to demand constant recognition or to attempt to dominate other children with whom they come in contact.

Other factors also influence the development of the child society. We shall mention three of them. First is the adult society, which children imitate so freely in play. It is markedly structured and has a tremendous variety of roles and status relationships which children explore incessantly and undertake to duplicate to some extent in interacting with one another. A

second factor is the effect of sex. The attitudes and activities that characterize the two sexes in American society have been differentiated for these children and reinforced by adults from very early childhood and are brought into the classroom. Third is the fact that the various games that children play have a variety of roles that carry different prestige values in the child segment of our culture; this means that the children playing these differing roles are valued differentially by their peers.

The net effect of all these factors, and of many others, is to cause various of the children to be attracted to each other and to group themselves into cliques. A few children are rejected, or are valued but slightly as companions, and still others are admitted to a clique to play only certain limited roles. In this manner group formation occurs and roles are differentiated and coordinated in the groups. A school class may have several of these well defined cliques or ingroups. If so, the relationships among all of the children will be structured in terms of these groups and the interaction of classmates will be conditioned by the status that has been won there. Like adult societies, each of these child societies has its own culture—its characteristic folkways, codes of conduct, and sanctions.

Common patterns of relationship and interaction

A majority of the children in any classroom will be affiliated with one or another of the ingroups that develop and will arrange themselves in varying configurations of relationship within them. In many cliques one child will play a strong leadership role, while in others the functions of leadership are more widely distributed. Some boys and girls are unable to win real belonging in any group and hover on the fringe now of one and now of another, trying to discover roles that they can play. We call such individuals *fringers*. One or two children may be actively rejected by one or several of the cliques and also by the *fringers*, who usually take their cues from the group valuations. Another one or two may be merely ignored by virtually everybody in the class; we have termed them *isolates*.

The above description of the common patterns of relation-

ship in classroom societies is essentially structural and static; and therefore it is somewhat misleading. Actually child societies are very dynamic, and their patterns of relationship involve a constant flow of feeling among the children. For example, sometimes clique leaders are rivals for power and prestige and develop feuds that involve the members of their ingroups in subtle conflicts in the classroom and in more overt ones on the playground. Or a child within a clique may aspire to a more important role within the group or to a closer relationship with its more influential members. In such cases struggles develop between this individual and other children who resent this tendency toward status mobility at their expense. Individuals who do not perform their roles effectively may be tolerated for a time and then demoted or expelled; others find themselves punished for violations of the group code or for currying favor with a teacher. When new children enter the class they suffer a period of severe testing before their group affiliations are secure; changes in the composition of a class sometimes result in a considerable reshuffling of the relationships among the children.

The child's striving to "belong"

Learning to participate in this child society and to adjust effectively to its processes poses for every child some of his most highly motivated and significant developmental tasks. Learning the lore of their peer group is just as important for children as learning the history of our society. The development of the social skills required to get along well in the peer group is co-important to children with learning the linguistic and arithmetical skills demanded by adult society. Indeed the attitudes, values, and ethical code of the group of children with which a child identifies himself seem to have increasing weight with him as he progresses through school. Often they appear to influence his desires and decisions more strongly than do the precepts of parents and teachers. The sanctions that are enforced by his peers and the prestige or recognition accorded him for certain actions are striking in their power to mould a child's behavior.

Interaction within and between groups and the differential

status and prestige accorded to various roles confront every child daily with avenues to satisfaction or to disappointment. For there are few more earnest desires in a child than to belong and to be esteemed highly in one of the groups of his peers at school; and there are few more disturbing frustrations than to be denied this belonging through a long period of time. Most children spare no effort or risk in their endeavors to win places for themselves in these groups; their personalities are profoundly marked by the ensuing success or failure. A child's estimation of his own personal worth, his evaluation of his competence, and his sense of personal superiority or inferiority are shaped, often to a critical extent, by the status accorded or refused him by his peers. When a child fails to win belonging or is actively rejected by his classmates, the classical aggressive or withdrawing patterns of behavior that usually follow frustration are seen. A considerable loss of motivation relating to all kinds of classroom activity sometimes follows, or in contrast, a withdrawn child may devote himself most assiduously to his academic work in order to demonstrate his competence to himself and to win the praise of adults. When a child is accepted, on the other hand, he often adopts—readymade and uncritically—whole patterns of behavior and many of the specific desires, attitudes, and values that characterize the group with which he identifies himself. Many seemingly inexplicable aberrations of conduct or of attitude crop up in habitually "well mannered" and "sensible" children as a result, and they must be handled with sympathetic understanding.

This social cosmos that we have tried to describe is the children's own world. This working out of social roles, these processes of affiliation, identification, group action, and interaction are among the primary means of social development for all children. The social learnings that result from successful group affiliation may include skills in dealing with people, insight into the nature of social process, and sensitiveness to the motives and feelings of others. Such learnings mature children. They produce an evolution of the society that is formed by each new generation entering school from a society of elementary school

peers into a society of adolescent peers, and finally into the society of the next generation of adults.

The child society and the teacher

The general emotional climate in the class and the moods of its members will be greatly affected by the nature of the adjustment and interaction among the cliques, by the stability of the cliques within themselves, by the emotional security and stability of the more influential members of each clique, and by the relationships between the cliques and the teacher. If the cliques are harmonious and led by secure, poised leaders, a sense of group unity and loyalty, an *esprit de corps* often develops. This makes possible more definitive group planning and better coordinated group action. In contrast, morale will be influenced adversely by the presence in the class of one or several children who are actively rejected by the others, or by the presence of a disproportionately large number of fringers. It can readily be seen that full knowledge of the group structure of his class and of the social dynamics that affect the children is of great value to a teacher as he influences group situations in the interest of effective learning by the pupils.

Suppose we cite some situations which indicate that school people need to understand the group processes in operation in a classroom as clearly as they understand the processes of learning to write, read, and figure. When a teacher says, "The class I have this year just never seems to settle down, while the group I had last year was so easy to manage," the chances are high that differences in the factors that structured the two classes account for the observed differences in behavior. Teachers also are sometimes at a loss to account for changes in mood in the same class; often some little happening that seemed trivial to them has had great significance for the children in terms of group status, rivalry, or organization, and accounts for the change. Teachers should realize, too, that in disciplining or dealing with one child they frequently are really dealing with the whole clique of children of which he is a member. Furthermore, a child among his peers cannot react to every teacher on a straight person-to-

person basis; he has to take into consideration the relationship that exists between the teacher and his clique. Nor do very studious or conscientious children dare permit a teacher repeatedly to praise them and exhibit them as models of good conduct and earnestness to the chagrin of their companions. For children do not value each other in their child society on the basis of the same values that adults hold. The values on the basis of which children admire and accord prestige to one another change as they pass from the first grade into the upper grades of the elementary school and again as they pass from late childhood into adolescence.¹ This explains why teachers sometimes are at a loss to understand the popularity of certain children who are not too successful in terms of adult standards. Sometimes the threats, scolding, or punishment administered by an unpopular teacher actually may serve to build up socially a boy who has had but a small place in the group. A teacher may wonder at the amount of punishment such a child will take rather than mend his ways, not realizing that the struggle between them is yielding him status value with his peers and that to him the status won is worth the small grief the teacher metes out to him.

A TEACHER STUDIES A CHILD SOCIETY

The remainder of this chapter and all of the next one will show how one teacher deepened her understanding of the motivation and behavior of children by studying clique formation within her class, by observing and recording interaction among her pupils, and by considering the group role of each child in interpreting behavior. We shall present first a sampling of the anecdotes which she wrote during the second year of her participation in the child-study program. At this time she was teaching a third grade and was keeping behavior journals on all of her pupils. Excerpts from the records of six of her third-grade girls will be reproduced, and we shall note that, while this teacher

¹ Caroline McCann Tryon, *Evaluations of Adolescent Personality by Adolescents*. Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, Vol. IV, No. 4 (Washington: National Research Council, 1939).

had learned to describe the actions of individuals, she was not yet seeing the meaning of their ways of dealing with one another.

The following year the teacher moved along with these children to the fourth grade, and it was then that she began a study of the structure and dynamics of the groups that made up her class. She used two procedures for getting at the facts. The first was a modified Moreno technique for obtaining friendship choices and rejections, and work-companion choices.² The second procedure was the observation and recording of anecdotes about the interaction of her pupils in small groups rather than as individuals. The charts or sociograms derived from the friendship and work-companion choices made during the first month of the school year will show the structure of the group in terms of interpersonal relationships; the anecdotes will show how far the sociograms described functioning relationships that exhibited themselves in behavior and that persisted through time. This material will conclude the present chapter. In the next chapter we shall show, on the basis of data procured by the same means, how the group relationships and interactions changed during the school year the children were in the fourth grade. We shall also include a brief case study of one girl who played an especially important role in changing the group relationships.

SIX GIRLS IN THIRD GRADE

During the second year of the child-study program each teacher undertook to write anecdotal records about every child in her room. Of course only a few episodes about a small number of children could be recorded on any one day, but the accumulation over several months was considerable. Anecdotal records on six girls in Miss D's third-grade group, begun during the autumn of 1941, are presented below. Some anecdotes have been omitted from all six records to save space, but no anecdote having to do with a child's interaction with her classmates has

² J. L. Moreno, *Who Shall Survive?* Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph, No 59 (Washington: Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Company, 1934).

been left out. Like most teachers, Miss D initially did not record much about what happened between children. Nevertheless we decided to include the records of these particular girls because they later were discovered to be playing very diverse roles in the group life of the class. We wanted to make it possible for the reader to form a picture of each personality from these third-grade anecdotes and to build up hypotheses as to the social roles the different individuals would play in the fourth grade. These hypotheses can then be checked by comparing them with the records of the sociometric study of these children in the fourth grade and with the fourth-grade anecdotes that contain accounts of the actual interaction among these children.

Rhoda

Rhoda was born in October 1932. Her family includes, in addition to her mother and father, a brother (age 16), two sisters (ages 7 and 4), and a brother (age 2). The family lives with grandmother and grandfather (mother's parents). Keep a cook sometimes.

September: Rhoda goes ahead nicely with her work. She has written more than any other child in the room. Words sentences well. Has a good vocabulary. Can go about her work alone—is writing a letter. Is inclined to write (print) too small. Have been trying to help her with this. Rhoda seems a little "grown-up" or ahead of most of the class in her way of thinking and looking ahead. She is usually attentive and interested in her work, but likes fun too. Her grandfather painted in the room, also worked on the boards. She was interested in our reaction to his work and distressed when she found that the blackboards were harder to clean than ever. She inquired about this at home, without being asked to, and told the class that "Poppa" did not get to finish them. Mother attended first PTA.

October 18: Told first story to group today. Moved constantly, pulled up socks, straightened hair, pulled on belt, pulled down dress, tucked each leg around the other, rubbed arms, etc., over and over. Children didn't seem to mind. Listened carefully and wanted her to tell the story over again.

October 24: Told the class another story today. Movements same as on last time. Why does she fidget so? Sat on rug today while work was being shown. Scrubbed all over it. Slid from one place to another constantly.

October 27: Told about finished picture, "potatoes dance." Fidg-

eted just as on previous day, on one foot, then the other, moving hands, twisting belt, etc.

November 3: Rhoda showed a "fussy" spirit today, because I helped another child and then said we would have to stop. Because she was next, she wanted to be helped even if it was time to stop. Pouted about it.

November 24: Has wanted to change from one job to another today as she did once last week. Tried to show her that she shouldn't. She didn't change but didn't particularly like it that way.

December 15: Rhoda called me all day Saturday. Got me Saturday evening and said, "Miss D, Mother's got a new baby boy, but we haven't named it yet." We talked about the baby today. She seemed proud of it yet a little resentful. "We were going to have a Christmas tree but now we can't because Mother can't fix it."

January 13: Mother got dress for Rhoda to make. Rhoda went to the store and chose her own trimming. Used good taste.

February 18: I'm impressed with Rhoda's physical development. She is small but is sturdy and strong looking. Built a little differently than the other "straight-legged girls."

March 26: Rhoda said today that she heard noises at night and can't sleep. She is afraid. Her little sister in the second grade laughs at her about it, for the latter stays on in their bed and Rhoda goes to her mother at the least sound.

April 20: I have decided that what I first thought was a fussy attitude wasn't. She, for instance, reminded a child today that I promised her (Rhoda) that she could go to the library. Her tone was similar to the one used before. Knowing her better I have found that she "means well." She is ahead of her age and the other children in her understanding of many things. Today she said, "I guess we have this war because we didn't settle the last one so everyone was pleased."

Emily

Emily was born in May 1932. Her family consists of mother and father and a brother (age 7).

September: Emily seems nervous. She hasn't yet learned to bunch her letters to make words and is the only one in the class who hasn't. She tries but gets nervous about it. She is thin and pale but has much energy and a good disposition judging from events so far. She has a very good looking father who brings the children to school. He came in and paid her fee and seems quite interested in the child. Emily's eyes are slightly crossed.

October 10: Very willing to do over some homework today when directions were not followed.

October 29: Talked to father at PTA about Emily's reading. Mother is quite interested—worried too over it. We agreed that she is a pleasant child and one who tries to do her work but finds it hard. We also agreed that she is nervous. I asked the mother to help her and to be sure to commend her reading all that she could rather than find fault with it.

November 3: Emily's mother is worried about her reading. I am too. She is in lowest group. Seems nervous.

November 11: Worked with her on bunching her letters to make words. She has had trouble all year with this. Seems to want to get them right, yet strings out letter after letter until it is almost impossible to read it.

November 18: Continues slow in her work. A rather intelligent looking child, takes directions rather well. Is nervous yet doesn't wiggle and twist anything like as much as Rhoda, for instance, who does good work with all her twisting!

December 10: Brought presents for a mountain child. Can always get what she wants apparently. Never promises anything (from home) until she asks though.

January 29: Is sewing on dress at school. Did a good job of cutting and was pleased to be complimented on it.

February 13: Father came by to ask about Emily. I talked with him about having a doctor try to find the cause of her nervous condition. He said he would do exactly what we advised about it. Said his wife had stopped work and could now help with anything we needed her for (is it significant that she—the mother—has thyroid trouble?).

February 26: Emily's mother is not at work now. Has goitre. . . . She is helping Emily with words as she reads library books. I believe Emily is improving in reading.

March 16: Emily enjoys the morning lunches. Her mother said today that she always ate a big noon lunch, too. Parents seem proud that she has gained. They think our school lunches help.

March 26: Father came by today. I talked to him about a metabolism test for Emily. He says he will see about it. Think he wants to give child the best, if possible.

April 2: Emily cried today. I caused it by saying that her hem (in the print dress she was sewing on) was crooked. She had a paper to measure by and the same thing said to another child would not have mattered. I was sorry immediately. I suppose she had worked hard and was nervous over it and was just about ready to cry anyway. Later she said, "I was just tired." This is the first time she has cried this year at school and crying was frequent last year according to her second-grade teacher.

April 15: Is timid about telling what she knows and about reading. Takes no part voluntarily in discussion and not often in reading. Is always willing to try and make a contribution though if I draw her out.

April 23: Emily's daddy came to school today to help build some stage wings. He offered to help any other time needed.

Lurline

Lurline was born in January 1933. Besides her mother and father she has a sister (age 16), two older brothers (ages 13 and 10), and one younger brother (age 4).

September: Lurline—small, blonde, and somewhat more babyish than most of the others in some ways. Is next to the youngest of several children. Her father has been married twice. Lurline often thinks that she can write a letter or do something else alone, but when it comes to the "doing" she says that she doesn't believe she can. She is usually willing to help with whatever comes up. Has been "inspector" part of the month and has not been careful to check. The class decided that it was new to her and that we would explain again to her how she should check on everything. She did a better job after that. Was still inclined to say things were good when they weren't though. Was the job too big for her?

October 10: Sat close to me in the circle. Talked to me too much. Commented on all that was said. Kept it up. Was interested. Stopped commenting to me when I explained.

October 24: Mother didn't help at Y. Sent note and eleventh-grade daughter. Lurline kept saying all day that her sister would be sure to go.

October 27: Took twelve notes home to her mother—"thank you's" for making pies. Came back delighted that her mother said she would write me a note about the letters being good.

November 12: Acts so ladylike. Amuses me. Talked rather well and has an interesting voice, pleasant to hear.

November 26: Mother sent word that she would contribute to our class lunch once a month. "I knew she would. Didn't I tell you?"

December 3: Stayed to help clean up today. Likes to play when she stays. Has to be pushed about her cleaning.

December 10: Brought her present for the mountain child. Was thrilled over wrapping it.

December 15: Turned over in her chair during circle this morning. No one said anything. Blushed and got back in chair. Later she said, "Miss D, I should have sat on four legs of my chair." I agreed with her.

January 6: Is thrilled over birthday party she is to have. Has invited entire class and teacher. Thinks she will take milk from the dairy next week, "if I can get any dimes at my birthday party."

January 13: Told an especially funny story today. Has an odd little voice and much expression in her face and eyes.

February 26: Lurline talks about getting material for a dress. Hasn't yet. I don't know why.

March 18: Mother came to PTA tonight. Also gave money to help third grade with the refreshments. Said she hadn't been able to get to school as often as she would like. Is going to take Lurline to the doctor.

March 20: Lurline and Agnes had a big fight yesterday. I found out about it by asking about the scratches on Agnes' arms. (See Agnes' record for details.)

April 23: Today Lurline said, "Miss D, I have a secret. Mother is going to send ice cream for lunch—as a surprise." I said, "It won't be a surprise if you tell anyone." She said, "I've only told one person, Agnes (with whom she fought and scratched), and she won't tell it." That sounded very good.

Lenora

Lenora was born in February 1932. She has a sister (age 18), a brother (age 16), and a sister (age 12), in addition to her mother and father.

September: Lenora is a very attractive child, well built and strong. She fits in nicely except the times when she wants her own way. When children do not wish to do as she says or wishes, she shows a bad attitude. This does not last long, however. We have talked about every person having rights and that she mustn't try to make the children do her way all the time. She takes it rather well and I think tries to improve. She is the youngest of a family of four and she says, "I'm petted a little." Her mother has asthma a great deal. Lenora is attractive but is slow in drill subjects.

October 6: Got in an argument with a boy in the hall about how to get water. Stuck out mouth. Soon over it.

October 10: Cried about using book. Had just explained. She asked again. I told her she hadn't listened well; she cried. Said I hurt her feelings. Later she said she had a headache.

October 29: Children gave me a fruit shower. Lenora seemed to be one of the leaders. I noticed what was going on on the playground. When the shower was over in the afternoon, Lenora was mad because she couldn't get to carry it out exactly as she wanted to, all the way through. Said that the others took her idea and then

wouldn't let her do as she wanted to. It was all right (seemingly) after I tried to explain that they should put their ideas together and why.

November 4: Lenora showed a quick temper or perhaps a nervousness when she "flew up" today while reading a letter aloud. Rena was bothering her by looking on and reading. She "called Rena's hand" in no uncertain terms.

November 12: Showed bad disposition today. Wanted her way about sweeping. Other helpers were doing their jobs but she wanted to tell them how. It was brought up in the circle. She denied it. Mouth stuck out. Later admitted she showed a bad attitude about help given.

January 21: Lenora showed today that she is petted at home. Was working with group. I noticed her mouth poked out. Went over to the group and from their conversation I could tell that Lenora had had an idea about how to do the work and the others had also had ideas. I asked them if they hadn't better consider all the ideas and then decide. Lenora grinned a little sheepishly. I think she realized that she tries to have her way.

February 23: Lenora had a birthday party on Saturday. Today one of the children said, "Miss D, there wasn't anybody hardly at Lenora's party—just eight people." I said, "Well, I guess it just happened that they couldn't go that day," and turned to Lenora and said, "You had a good time though, didn't you?" She said, "Yes," and showed me a handkerchief she had received. (This small attendance was in contrast to the number at Ann's party the same week.) What does this indicate about Lenora—and Ann?

February 27: Had on new shoes today. She acted like she felt terribly dressed up. Often she takes great care to straighten her dress, so it was not so unusual.

March 19: Lenora could be so attractive and have so many friends. Today she had her hair freshly washed, a new dress on, and looked very pretty. She was pleasant and as I looked at her I wondered how popular she would be if she always acted that way. Instead she fails to make the most of things; fusses and sticks her mouth out. Frequently this is evident when she is whispering.

April 16: Lenora and Carolyn have been such very good friends. Today, though, they got into a squabble. Lenora said Carolyn said she and her sister were "bad," (third grade!) and Lenora was crying. Carolyn was firm in her statement, "Well, Miss D, I still say she is—she hits the boys and plays with them and all." It was amusing to hear them. I tried to talk about being friends, being careful what we say.

April 21: Lenora and Carolyn appear to be the best of friends again. Came in late at noon today, just from across the street.

Tess

Tess was born in March 1933. Her family includes four older sisters, three older brothers (one married), a younger brother (age 6), father, and mother.

September: Tess is the eighth of nine children. She is tall and thin. So far she has been able to go ahead with the work rather well. She fits in nicely with the group. The first week of school she had a sore foot. One of the children stepped on it and she cried. She seemed to think that they did it on purpose.

October 8: Willing to change jobs to help another girl who needed help.

October 10: Worked best with first group today. Others in group seemed pleased.

October 29: Tess is taking a special interest in our choral-speaking attempts. Her face is full of expression. I commented on it. She was pleased. Has longer attention span than many of the others it seems.

November 4: Tess worked hard all day as usual. Is interested in what we are doing. Can't bring things from home it seems.

November 12: Hasn't brought her fee money. Said something about it today when not asked. Think she feels that she is different.

December 2: Promised gift for mountain child.

December 8: Tess didn't bring her gift. Said nothing about why. I didn't push her.

December 11: Stayed to help clean tables after we dyed the cotton. It was a big job but she went right after it. Spelling is much better now. Is in highest group and is pleased.

December 15: Stayed late to clean. Worked very hard and fast. Saw all that needed to be done and went ahead without being told. Was pleased that we liked her haircut.

January 8: Tess brought material for a dress. It was three small pieces and not enough. Said she would try to get another piece of cloth.

January 29: Tess brought milk today. She isn't able to do many of the things the other children do—things that take money. Is willing to cooperate but can't.

February 26: Tess is getting milk at school. She is pale, tall, and thin. I believe she needs the milk. Said today that she was going to try to bring some fee money. I encouraged her to bring a little all along. Think they just don't have it.

March 12: Tess finished her dress. She did a good job and is proud. Today she showed it to the principal and beamed when the principal admired it. Asked today if she could help others.

March 27: Today she helped pin the hem of Rhoda's dress. Rhoda was glad to have the help and that pleased Tess very much. The children bragged on her fast (and good) sewing. Was chosen today as mother in Cast I of *Hansel and Gretel*. Smiled quietly.

April 3: Played her part well today but didn't speak well. The group mentioned this as something to work on next time. She took the suggestion well.

April 17: Today talked much better.

April 20: Brought the remainder of her fee money today. Said that Daddy said she couldn't have her picture made if she brought it. She said she would rather pay the fee. I haven't pushed them for I felt that it was hard going.

Agnes

Agnes was born in December 1931. She is the middle child in a family of five, having an older sister and a brother, a younger sister and brother, and a father and mother.

September: Agnes is a good friend of Helen's. They seem to be able to work together well and like to be on the same job. They are somewhat near the same size, and the first week of school I confused their names. They do not look so much alike, but there is something about both appearance and manner that is similar.

October 20: Went ahead with work today, finishing before any others. Took care of herself exceptionally well. Often does some kind of cleaning in the room while the others work. Did this today.

October 23: Agnes and Helen stayed after all the others had left. Just wanted to talk. Sat around the table with me and talked about what they do at home, etc.

November 4: Continues to take care of things nicely. Knows just when to shut the door, when to get up and help hold a picture for another child, as she did today, and so forth.

November 10: I let Agnes set the clock this morning. She can do this and so many other things that the others can't do.

December 1: Fixed word books for new pupils. Can go ahead as well as a fifth grader with things like this.

December 9: Brought gifts for the mountain child. Hasn't been able to get some things as father has been out of work, but says he is well now. Will bring lunch after Christmas. Mother's note showed interest.

December 15: Stayed with Ann today to help clean. Stayed until after I left. Followed directions well. I left her to do certain cleaning while I was out. When I got back she had done it all. A good friend of Ann's.

January 7: Stayed today to clean. Went ahead as well as a much older child. I like to depend on her.

January 15: Family in better financial condition. Says she can bring lunch now. I thought she might wait a while. Insisted that I assign her a date soon. I did for I saw she would have her feelings hurt. Maybe she felt embarrassed about not being able to bring it earlier. We explained that there were so many families where several were working that we didn't think others should send lunch until they were ready. She seemed pleased that the class was so friendly about it. I am wondering now how she felt (underneath). I thought then that it was okay.

January 21: Talked about lunch her mother had planned. Got my okay on it. Enjoyed planning and talking about it. Children showed that they were looking forward to it.

January 30: Brought a tasty salad of raw vegetables. Took special interest in helping serve it. Is a lunch helper now and can go ahead well.

February 2: Family talking about moving. The class and I told Agnes that she just couldn't move—that she would have to stay with some of us. This pleased her greatly. We were all sincere.

February 11: Another child came up hurriedly to announce: "Agnes isn't going to move from our school." She came up grinning and we all laughed and talked together about it. Her daddy has had a promotion.

February 20: Agnes' mother said (at PTA) that her husband is working and making more money and that they intend to stay. Mother is cooperative in whatever comes up.

March 5: Visited home today. Agnes was pleased. She showed me some sewing that her mother was doing. Pointed out the tucks (about which we have studied).

March 9: Announced today that her daddy is working on the third shift. She seemed pleased. I asked if she liked it that way. She said, "Yes, I can talk after I go to bed now."

March 20: Was surprised to find today that Agnes and Lurline had a big fight yesterday. Don't know the cause. Agnes has fingernail prints and scratches all up one arm to her elbow. It seems that she tore Lurline's dress almost off. Ducked her head when I unsuspectingly asked how she got so scratched up. She told me.

March 31: Agnes told me today about playing on the red bank

back of the church. She also told how her mother told her not to, and how she had to slip into the yard and wash her legs at the spigot. Enjoyed the experience. Mother didn't find out.

April 10: Agnes was selected to be Gretel in the first cast of the play. Children seemed to want her to do things. I suppose it is because she goes ahead and because she is pleasant with all of us. She has been able to do well since the beginning.

April 20: Brought money for costume, \$1.

April 21: I returned fifty-five cents of the money. Was pleased with her cloth. Got patterns down and decided what to use. Took cut cloth home. Her mother did some work on it.

April 22: Worked on costume today. Wore the unfinished waist, the bolero, almost all day.

Initial characterizations

In these records, and in others not presented, the teacher tends to be preoccupied with certain aspects of each child's behavior and fails to record others of equal significance. On the basis of these anecdotes we have made initial characterizations of these girls which we reproduce below for revision in the light of data based on sociometric analysis of the class in the fourth grade, and on fourth-grade anecdotes that include more descriptions of social interaction.

Rhoda is a small sturdy girl who fidgets and wiggles excessively. She has fears at night and goes to her mother's bed. She is a competent, interested student, responsible about duties in the classroom. She knows what should be done and sometimes insists that she be allowed to do things her own way. A new baby brother is born, which makes four children in the family younger than she is. Only once is there a glimpse of her relationships with other children; they like to listen to her stories in the classroom.

Emily is thin and pale and her eyes are slightly crossed. She is very active, seems nervous. She cries when the teacher makes a casual suggestion to help her with her sewing. Her parents and her teacher are concerned about her slow progress in reading and other skill subjects. She takes no voluntary part in group discussion. She is willing but timid about all her work. There is no mention at all of her relations with other children.

Lurline is small and blonde, has an expressive face and pleasing voice. She seems rather immature to her teacher, seeks close physical and social contact with the latter. She does not recognize the extent of the responsibilities she assumes; plays when she has agreed to work. She tries to conform to the teacher's standards. Is unusually pleased to have her mother participate in school lunch program. She has a fight with Agnes and scratches her, but some time later confides a most important secret to Agnes.

Lenora is very pretty and looks strong and sturdy. She is interested in her appearance, takes care to straighten her dress. She is the youngest of four children, admits "I'm petted a little." She wants her own way, cries and pouts when she does not have it, tells the teacher that she (the teacher) has hurt her feelings. She is slow in drill subjects. The teacher seems to think she is unpopular in the group. There is "hardly anybody" (eight) at her birthday party. She is the center of various arguments and fights. She gets into an argument with a boy at the water fountain; is angry at the girls because the fruit shower is not carried out in her way; flies up at Rena, who is looking on while she reads; wants her way about sweeping. She has a squabble with Carolyn about being "bad"; a few days later they seem the best of friends.

Tess is tall, thin, and pale. Works hard with marked seriousness. She is interested in accomplishing various tasks. She improves in spelling, joins the highest group; she does a good job of dressmaking. When she stays after school to work, she works hard, sees what should be done, and does it. The fact that her family cannot provide her with money for fees seems to cause her some distress. The teacher says she "fits in nicely with the group." She is willing to change jobs to accommodate another girl; she helps Rhoda with her sewing. The children brag about her fast and good sewing; they choose her for the part of mother in a play. Tess cries when a child steps on her foot, thinking that it was done on purpose.

Agnes is competent about many things. She finishes her lessons early and often does cleaning and other jobs in the room

while waiting. She does many things others can't or won't do—sets the clock, fixes word books for new pupils (like a fifth grader). Teacher says, "I like to depend on her." The family talk about moving; the father is out of work, later is promoted. The mother is cooperative. Agnes works well with Helen and she is a good friend of Ann's. She stays after school with one or another of these girls to visit with the teacher or to work. The class and teacher tell her she just cannot move. One child excitedly reports the good news that Agnes is not going to move. She is chosen for a leading role in a play. The children "want her to do things." She tears Lurline's dress in a fight, and gets herself badly scratched, avoids discussing this with the teacher.

When we examine these characterizations for data on the social relationships of children, it is apparent that we have very little information about the position of any of these children in the classroom society, nor can we describe the relationships that condition the interaction among these children. Numerous questions come to mind. Is Emily a person who is neglected and ignored in the group? There is no mention at all of her interaction with her peers. Is Lenora actually disliked and rejected because of all her squabbling? Do the children depend on Agnes, as the teacher does, to get things done? Does Tess's adjusting to the needs of others assure her of a significant place in the group? How should the behavior of Agnes and Lurline be interpreted? They fight, scratch, and tear at each other. Then Lurline makes a confidante of Agnes regarding her big secret, the surprise about the ice cream.

SOCIOMETRIC ANALYSIS GIVES NEW PERSPECTIVE

On several occasions consultants had talked to the study groups about the structure and processes of the child societies that form in classrooms. Many of the teachers also had read and discussed books³ and magazine articles⁴ that described sociometric procedures for exploring the social dynamics of children's

³ For example, Moreno, *Who Shall Survive?* (Washington: Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Company, 1934).

⁴ For example, Merl H. Elliott, "Patterns of Friendship in the Classroom," *Progressive Education*, XVIII (November 1941), 383-90.

groups through their choices of friends and work companions. In the autumn of 1942 each of them undertook to study her own class group in this manner. This was done less for the purpose of getting definitive answers to questions that had arisen than to open up new perspectives for observation and anecdote writing and to stimulate the formation of new hypotheses about the motivation and behavior of some of the children. The sociometric procedures were not to replace but were to supplement other sources of information.

Giving the friendship test

It will be recalled that Miss D had moved along with the class and was teaching them at the fourth-grade level in September 1942. One day during the first month of school she saw to it that each child had a sheet of paper and a pencil, and then she said to them:

We have been reading together a book about three little friends. These three were very close friends. I would like to know whom you would choose as your best friends. It might help me to plan things for you. Will you write on a piece of paper the names of those you choose as your best friends? Do not write more than three names, even though you have more than three friends.

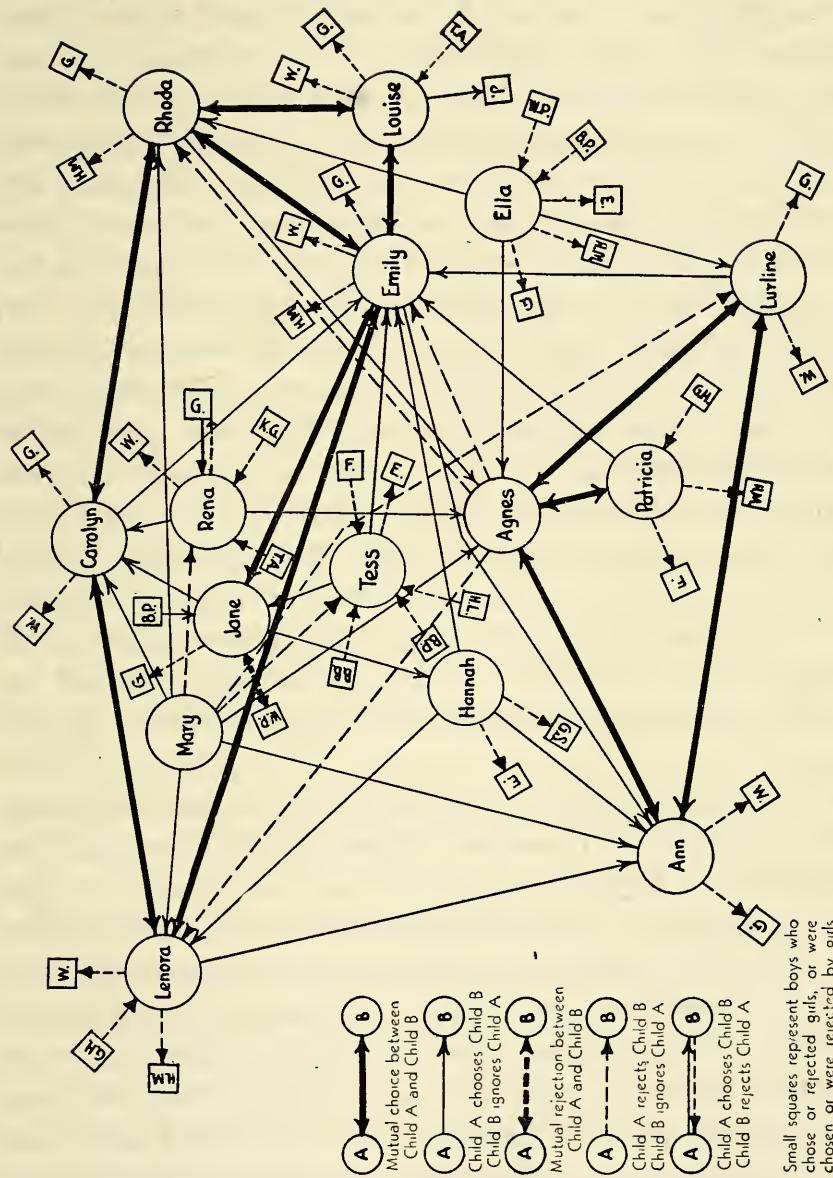
After the children had done this, Miss D continued:

Now if there are some whom you would not choose for friends, write their names also. You may not know any, you may wish to name one, or you may have several in mind. Please do not write more than three names.

Neither these children nor those in other class groups in this school system appeared surprised or bothered by this request. They responded readily because they trusted the teacher and accepted her explanation that their answers might help her to plan for them. No mention of this activity as a "test" was ever made. Nor were their responses ever discussed with them or even mentioned in their presence. Later in the school year when they were asked to respond again to the same questions, the teacher simply explained that there might be some changes in their choices and that they could help her to keep up to date in her planning by answering these questions again.

The most satisfactory way of organizing the children's responses for interpretive purposes was found to be as follows: A card was made out for each child with his name at the top. In a column on the left were listed the names of the children he chose as friends and below these the names of the children whom he rejected. In a second column to the right were listed the names of the other children in the class who chose this child as a friend and below these the names of the other children who rejected this individual. The teachers in the child-study group experienced considerable confusion in trying to make sociograms until this manner of arranging the data was developed. Once the children's choices and rejections were tabulated on cards in this manner it was easy to juggle them about on the bare top of a table until an arrangement suitable to form a sociogram was achieved. Miss D's first friendship-choice sociogram is shown in Figure 1, with a key that shows the use of lines and arrows to indicate the direction of the choices and rejections.

In drawing Figure 1 (and subsequent charts) Miss D spread her data cards out on a table, looked for individuals who were chosen most frequently, and made several preliminary sketches before she arrived at the arrangement in Figure 1. When two girls chose each other as a friend, she used a heavy line with arrows pointing to both children involved (see for example Emily and Rhoda). When one girl chose another, but the choice was not returned, she depicted this choice by a finer line with one arrow pointing to the person who was chosen (see Lurline chooses Emily). Similarly for rejections: a heavy broken line with two arrows indicated mutual rejection (see Jane and boy WP); a finer broken line indicated rejection with the arrow pointing to the person rejected (see Agnes rejects Emily). In Figure 1 and subsequent figures when there were any choices or rejections between boys and girls these were shown with similar lines; the boys were indicated by small squares with initials. Space does not permit the inclusion and analysis of the boys' chart.



Small squares represent boys who chose or rejected girls, or were chosen or were rejected by girls

Figure 1
FRIENDSHIP SOCIOGRAM—GRADE 4—SEPTEMBER

Interpreting the friendship sociogram

As Miss D studied the sociogram in Figure 1, she saw that there were apparently two groups among the fifteen girls in her class. The larger one included six individuals: Emily, Jane, Lenora, Carolyn, Rhoda, and Louise. These girls were all tied by mutual choices into a subgroup which the teacher called ingroup A. The other small clique, called ingroup B, included Agnes, Lurline, Patricia, and Ann. Each of these subgroups had one particularly influential or central person who was chosen by every other girl in the clique. In ingroup A this person was Emily, in ingroup B it was Agnes. Emily was chosen as a best friend by nine other girls, reciprocating in the case of four (evidently she felt unable to limit herself to the specified three choices); Agnes was selected by seven. No other girl was as frequently designated as these two. The two cliques were not insulated from each other. On the contrary, the evidence suggests that they interacted rather freely. For example, Ann of ingroup B was chosen by Lenora and Emily of ingroup A. Emily in turn was chosen by Patricia and Lurline from ingroup B. On the other hand Agnes, the central figure of ingroup B, rejected three prominent members of ingroup A: Emily, Rhoda, and Lenora.

There were five girls who had no mutual friends according to this friendship test. These were Mary, Rena, Hannah, Tess, and Ella. None of these five fringers chose each other and, with but one exception, no clique member chose any of them. Hannah was chosen by Jane of ingroup A but the relationship was not mutual. Another fringer, Rena, was chosen by boy G but she rejected him. We see, then, that five girls in this class were without close mutual friendships. Four of them were not listed by a single one of the girls as among their three best friends, and three of them even drew eight rejections from the boys of the class. The day-to-day life at school of these little fringers must have been quite a different experience from that of the members of the well knit ingroups A and B.

There was almost complete cleavage between boys and girls in the class so far as close friendships were concerned. Thirteen

of the girls each rejected from one to three boys. The total number of these rejections of boys by girls was twenty-seven, but they were concentrated on seven individuals. Parenthetically, these seven boys included the ones who also were most frequently rejected by other boys, just as the fringer girls drew eight out of the twelve rejections of girls made by boys. For the most part the boys simply ignored the girls, pointing most of their choices and rejections toward members of their own sex. There were only three cross-sex friendship choices in the whole class: Louise chose one boy as a friend, and Rena and Jane were each chosen by a boy. This group thus showed the cleavage along sex lines that generally characterizes late childhood in our culture. Indeed, there was a strong tendency actively to reject members of the opposite sex as friends; there was a total of thirty-nine such cross-sex rejections. Interestingly enough, however, these rejections were not directed at prominent members of the opposite sex but toward the children who also were rejected or ignored by members of their own sex.

Neither choices of friends nor rejections in a test of this sort can be taken at face value, of course. In the first place, the choices are of three "best" friends and do not mean absence of friendly feeling toward all others. Also children choose other children as friends for many reasons. Their choices may be based primarily on genuinely warm feelings or they may constitute only a recognition of prestige, being derived largely from need for status and the satisfactions that come from having prominent or recognized persons as friends. Similarly, rejections do not necessarily spring only from distaste or dislike for the person rejected. The fact that the girls used so many rejections on boys may have indicated only that it is the custom of the sexes in our society to emphasize their separateness during late childhood. It may equally well have shown a rising interest in boys which they did not want to admit even to themselves. For all these reasons we must guard against making the too easy assumption that all, or even most, of these choices and rejections indicate lines of strong likes and dislikes among the children. Instead we must see them as the resultants of the interplay of a number of

different and only partly understood attitudes operating in each child. They are descriptive of the flow of interaction among the children rather than of any strong and permanent emotional structuring of the group.

When the teacher compared the facts indicated by the September sociogram with the earlier characterizations of six of the girls, based on the anecdotes gathered during the previous year, she found much food for thought. Emily's status was a big surprise. Miss D noted that she had been so preoccupied with Emily's timidity and with her difficulties with skill subjects that she had not been sensitive to the child's outstanding position in this group of girls. No other girl approached her in popularity. The teacher noticed too that Lenora's many fights and arguments were not, as she had assumed, evidences of lack of popularity. On the contrary, the children's choices showed Lenora to have a satisfactory position in a clique. Evidently the fights and arguments resulted from other and unrecognized causes. The teacher had described Tess as fitting nicely into the group, and so she did in terms of facilitating the teacher's management of it. But on the sociograms Tess appeared as a fringer and was the object of more rejections than was any other girl. The teacher began to wonder what the children thought about Tess's easy and frequent accommodation and adaptation to the needs and desires of others. She wondered what Tess did to draw resentment or dislike upon herself.

Agnes came in for reevaluation and study, too. The teacher had said of her, "The children seem to want her to do things" and "I like to depend on her." Her judgment of Agnes' popularity was validated for she was next to Emily in the number of best-friend choices she received. Yet her own response to this popularity was quite different from Emily's. The latter rejected no girls and merely followed the group pattern by rejecting three boys. Agnes in contrast rejected Emily, Rhoda, and Lenora, three of the most popular girls in ingroup A. Could this rejection be due to jealousy of their popularity, or was it an indication that Agnes felt socially insecure despite her apparent popularity? Did Agnes aspire to wield a dominant influence in the

classroom through her own ingroup B, and resent the larger, well knit ingroup A? Or perhaps did Agnes herself aspire to belong to ingroup A and take this manner of showing her pique at not being admitted to this group? How strong was her loyalty to and liking for members of her own clique in which she appeared to be the key person?

Obviously the sociometric friendship test was very valuable to this teacher. It had shown mistakes in the earlier characterizations of some of the girls and forced the development of new hypotheses to explain the behavior of others. It had raised a large number of questions in her mind that would orient many of her further observations. It had called to her attention the presence of an unusually large proportion of fringers among the girls of the class. It had given her a first glimpse into the status hierarchy that existed among the girls in the child society in her classroom. The cleavage between the sexes had become apparent, though its implications for classroom management were not immediately apparent. This initial exploration of social relationships and pupil interaction had clearly posed many intriguing problems for Miss D to investigate. She began to see classroom relations from a new perspective.

The work-companion sociogram

About a month after she had given the friendship test, the teacher asked the children to list the names of the two classmates with whom they liked best to work. Again she assured them that what they wrote would help her in planning for them in arranging groups to work together. The children were asked to limit their choices to two and they were not asked for rejections. Later the teacher decided that the original procedure of asking for three choices and suggesting rejections was more fruitful, and when they repeated this test a few months later she reverted to that procedure.

The second sociogram is reproduced in Figure 2. The first thing that Miss D noticed about it was that, with this new criterion for choice, ingroup A did not exist. Most of the girls in that friendship group did choose Emily as a work companion,

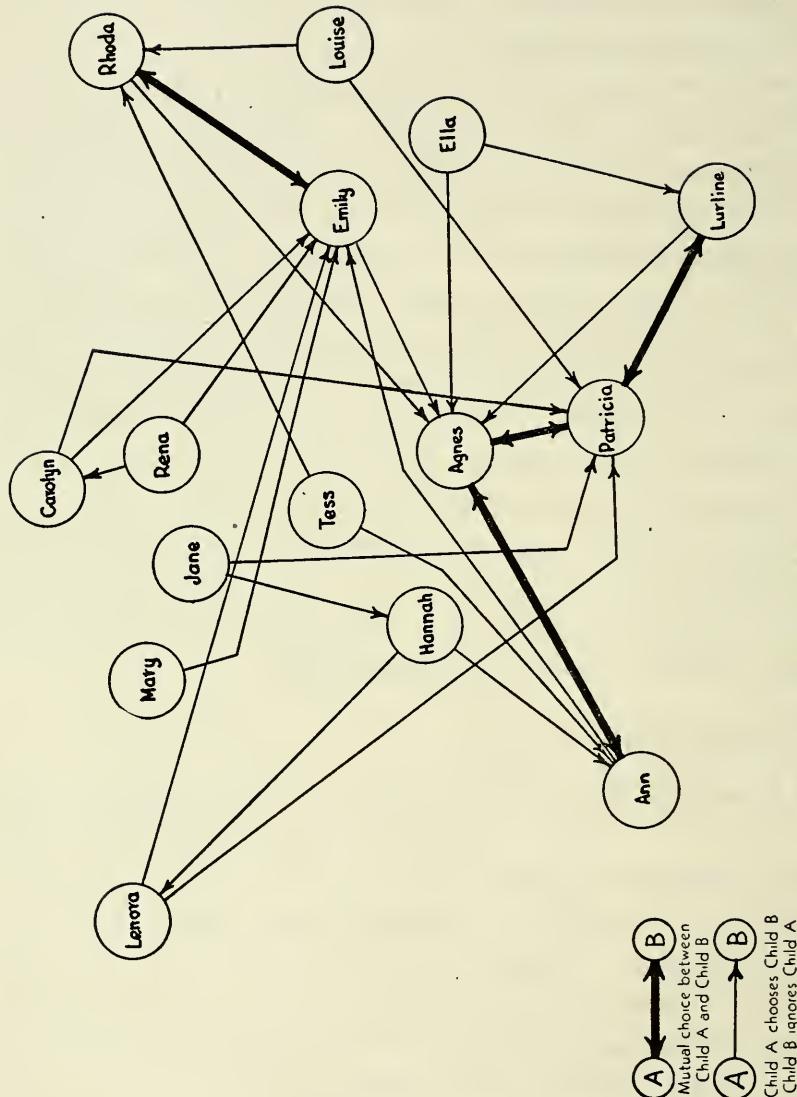


Figure 2
WORK-COMPANION SOCIOGRAM—GRADE 4—OCTOBER

but they did not choose each other. Instead they directed their second choices toward Patricia or Agnes. In contrast, ingroup B did appear again, its members being tied together through mutual choices. In fact, of the eight choices made by these four girls only one went outside of this friendship group: Ann's choice of Emily. Furthermore, over half of all the girls' choices of work companions (seventeen out of twenty-nine) fell upon the four girls of ingroup B: Agnes, Patricia, Ann, and Lurline. Apparently something bound these four together in work and friendship alike, and some factor also made them especially attractive as work companions to the other girls as well. Only Mary failed to choose one or another of them as a work companion. The teacher wondered what the basis of this cohesion and attracting power of ingroup B might be. She wondered why friendship clique A did not show the same cohesion in the work-companion choices.

A number of factors must be considered in developing alternative hypotheses to explain the facts brought to light by Figure 2. In the first place, this class was democratically organized with the children participating extensively in decisions having to do with life in the classroom. The teacher was friendly and permissive. This meant that the children were free to choose different associates for different functional situations, if they found them more satisfactory. There was no necessity for maintaining a constantly organized "united front" in opposition to an autocratic teacher, as is sometimes true. While research evidence on this point is not yet conclusive, there is some which suggests that in autocratically controlled groups the children always operate on the principle of "me and my friends agin' the teacher." Since this condition did not exist in this class, we can assume that the children actually chose on the work-companion test the classmates with whom they found the most satisfaction in carrying on classroom projects.

On the other hand, a child leader can be autocratic too. If a child draws his chief feeling of personal significance from bossing his gang, or if he constantly needs reassurance as to his status in the group because inside himself he feels very insecure,

he may work very hard at keeping his group organized and functioning as a unit and at enhancing its importance in all sorts of situations. Under such circumstances the children in a group would not be free to choose persons outside their group for associates in different enterprises. They would have to show their group loyalty by working with the ingroup at all times or suffer various reprisals and penalties, extending even to possible exclusion from the group. The teacher wondered whether Agnes was this kind of leader and, if so, whether she had some deep-seated insecurity that would give rise to such a tendency. She noticed that Agnes had not made a single choice on either of the tests that had not been returned. This was true of no other girl in the group. She remembered, too, that Agnes had rejected the three most popular girls in the other clique on the friendship test. She wondered whether she would have to revise still farther the initial characterization of Agnes because of the discovery of hitherto unsuspected needs and motives.

Many other points were noted as the teacher studied Figure 2. For example, the girls who had been fringers on the friendship test again were unchosen as work companions. The exception was Hannah, chosen by Jane as she had been on the friendship test. This suggested that Hannah was the only true fringer; that is, she could effect some affiliations while the other four really were socially isolated in the classroom. The teacher decided to study the behavior and resources of these girls and to seek opportunities for integrating them more effectively into the group life of the classroom. Another point related to Patricia. She was chosen as a work companion by six girls, the same number as chose Emily and Agnes, the two friendship-group leaders. This was the position that Miss D had expected Patricia to hold in the friendship sociogram; this fact made her recognize that her initial characterization of the child had been colored by her own preoccupation with classroom work and achievement. Another surprise for the teacher was the fact that Emily's popularity on the friendship test persisted in this one, which supposedly was based on scholastic effectiveness. Emily, the poor speller, the hesitant reader, the timid one in group discussions,

was still chosen more often as a work companion than girls who were far more competent scholastically. The teacher was challenged to try to understand the basis for Emily's exceptional status in the group.

FIRST EFFORTS TO OBSERVE SOCIAL DYNAMICS

An important effect of Miss D's sociometric explorations was to develop an interest in her in what went on between children. This carried her a step beyond her efforts of the first year to note and record accurately what individual children did and said. The analysis of the sociograms made her aware of the presence in her class of two friendship cliques and a number of fringers and isolates. These social facts about the pupils, together with certain hypotheses as to the motivation of their behavior, constituted an intellectual context or background which guided her choice of incidents to be recorded as she continued her observation of classroom happenings. A number of excerpts from the anecdotal records that she made during the autumn term of her second year with the class are reproduced below. For the most part they are included here because they contain information about one or several of the six girls already discussed. The anecdotes cover the period from September 1942 to New Year's Day, 1943.

September 17: Ann, Agnes, and Lurline sat on the workbench today. Agnes moved in order to see the board. In a few minutes Lurline moved and sat beside her. Ann stayed where she was. (All are members of ingroup B.)

September 22: Louise and Lenora had a fight on the playground today. Lenora evidently started it in play. She had hit several other children on the head. Each time she hit a girl she ran. Louise took it differently and the fight took place. Louise cried and cried. Lenora was repentant enough but Louise continued to cry. I was interested during our discussion on the playground to note the part Emily played (since all three are members of ingroup A). She definitely took the role of friend to Louise as well as to Lenora, trying to explain to Louise that Lenora had not intended to start it, that she knew she was hurt and mad, but "Please don't cry, Louise, I don't like for you to cry and it won't do any good."

Rhoda (also a member of ingroup A) interested me too, as she

tried to straighten out the whole situation. She gave Lenora her just due and tried to have them be friends. Rhoda was excited and came to me immediately when the fight started saying, "Miss D, Lenora and Louise are fighting. Lenora hit her first but she was playing, I think." I can't recall that Rhoda took any further part in the discussion. The fact that Emily is a mutual friend of Louise and also of Lenora, and that Rhoda is also a member of the same ingroup interested me. In other words, the two participants in the fight, the "intermediary," and the one who reported the fight are all members of ingroup A.

September 23: Rhoda asked to paint with Agnes today. Remembering that Rhoda had chosen Agnes but that Agnes rejected Rhoda on the friendship test, I turned to Agnes and said, "Would you like to paint with Rhoda as she suggests?" She said, "Yes." (This was before the work-companion test was given.)

September 29: Rhoda and Agnes are working together in the library. I am watching things but they seem to be getting along nicely. They were an incompatible pair on the friendship test. I have been unable to tell why. Wonder if there is some jealousy though? The two both happen to be very capable and dependable and are often given jobs requiring these qualities (both by teacher and classmates). Are they rivals? Are they competing for the place of prominence in the group? Is it a desire for getting ahead in the fundamentals? Both have been staying after school and asking for help on work they have "heard of" but not had yet—such as long division.

October 6: Ella made a clay Indian head today and again felt the approval of the group. Is it Ella's appearance which causes her to be rejected? She twists her dirty handkerchief most of the time and is almost never clean and tidy. Even when she is beaming over a compliment, she still twists her handkerchief. Realizing Ella's place in the group and hoping to help her, I was careful to compliment her on her new white sweater a day or so ago. Several of the children standing around thought it was pretty too, and joined me in talking with Ella. I have tried to remember to mention other children's new sweaters, shoes, etc., in order to avoid creating a wrong feeling on the part of any of them.

October 8: In a discussion today Louise said, "I like to work with Patricia for I can always get along with her." That gave a little opening. Another child said, "I do too." I let the group ramble on, listening for reasons. I was unable to learn anything except that Patricia didn't ever fuss with them. I shall continue to listen and chat informally with them, hoping to learn more.

October 9: Ann and Rena asked to paint together today. Rena did the asking. I was interested in this because there is no relationship between the two on the friendship or work-with tests. Neither of them paints very well. Could it be that Rena felt this and chose Ann for that reason? Could it be that Rena felt that Ann would not turn her down? I asked Ann if she would like to paint with Rena and she said she would. Rena needs a friend and this could possibly lead toward a friendship between the two. Ann is noticeably a person who works hard and often alone.

Ann showed her picture to the group, saying at the same time that she didn't like the figures of girls in her picture. The class picked out what was good only. Ann said, "I want to try and make the girls look better." This is typical of her persistence. Once she decides to attempt something she stays with it. She was seemingly afraid to try figures for a while. She stayed after school and helped clean up today. I did not tell her one thing to do yet she worked steadily. This is true of her day after day and throughout the day. She seems to see what is to be done and does it. I am wondering about her. Does she know that I approve of this and want to please me? Is she more settled and steady than the other children? It could be that she realizes her speech handicap and is trying to make up for that. In this connection I recall that she did not move from workbench the day Agnes and Lurline moved. Could she see the board or did she think it would make a disturbance if she moved? I am inclined to think that she is a practical person who is farsighted enough to stay put and keep things settled. We have talked about useless moving.

October 13: Agnes and Rhoda, the incompatible pair, got their heads together and wrote me a note about letting the class have a potato roast. Rhoda did the writing and delivering but Agnes was working with her at table for a while before that.

October 15: Louise (ingroup A) and Patricia (ingroup B) didn't get along today. Patricia came to me and wanted to change seats. "Louise won't let me sit by her. She says I bother her." I talked to Louise later. She said no more than that Patricia bothered her and that she didn't like to have Lurline (ingroup B) sit by her either. (Louise had chosen Patricia in the work test and on October 2 had said, "I like to work with Patricia.") Later on in the day I asked Patricia if she wanted to change places. She said she didn't mind.

October 23: Rhoda and Agnes (who were incompatible on the friendship test) brought me fruit today as a surprise. Mary, a fringer, brought no fruit but was "in on" the plans and brought the paper used to wrap the fruit. (Mary had chosen both Agnes and Rhoda on the September friendship test.)

October 26: Mary paid her fee for this year. Was very pleased. Appeared to be upset last year by not paying it. Her mother promised me and Mary that she would send it along as she could (they did have less last year than now). Have found this year that Mary's father has been pretty mean sometimes with his wife and the children. He seems to be drinking. Mary has been having free lunch, though this has not been discussed in the group. I talked to her and Tess privately, saying that someone would pay for their lunches at least part of the time but I would like for them to bring the money when they could. (The class hasn't questioned their names on the lunch list so far.) Mary has paid part of her dish money. Tess has paid none; there has been serious sickness and much extra expense in her family.

Tess has wanted to bring her dish money. I thought that she couldn't and told her that if they have extra doctor's bills that we didn't expect it. She has also felt that she wanted to bring her lunch money to the extent that several weeks ago she said, "Daddy said for you to let me borrow it and he would send it Monday. He just had a twenty-dollar bill today." I thought that he had said it and so I let her have it. She has never brought the money. Now I see that he might not have said it at all—that she might have wanted so much to be like the others that she made it up. I asked her once (privately) if she had brought the money. She hadn't. Now I don't know what to do about it. Should I expect it of her or let it slip? I feel that there are two sides to the question. Which would help or harm her more?

November 5: Carolyn left school to live in Ohio on November 3. What effect will this have on the class? on her subgroup? on the entire group? She didn't want to leave. Called me on the telephone before school the last day, also at bedtime that night. Lenora seemed to feel her leaving more than any other child. Carolyn stayed at school only part of the last day. When she left us, in the yard, Lenora walked with her across the yard. They stopped and talked and Lenora kissed her and ran back, her face very red. Their friendship has interested me all along. They had many ups and downs—hard feelings, cries, fusses, etc. but these never lasted long.

November 10: Agnes spent the night with Rhoda last night. Agnes, I recall, rejected Rhoda on the friendship test. Evidently what I've been thinking was just a friendliness between the two actually is friendship. Has their closer association working together in the library aided this friendship? Was Agnes jealous of Rhoda in the first place, and has she changed her mind? Rhoda evidently made the advances in this case, but the fact that Agnes accepted seems interesting. They called me on the telephone last night. Rhoda talked first, teased me, saying she was Patricia (who has no phone).

I asked where she was. That pleased her and she laughed and told me it was Rhoda. Agnes also talked and said they were having a good time.

November 12: I have noticed lately that Rena (one of the fringers) has been helping Ann (of ingroup B). Today while a group was in the circle Ann finished her work at her seat, then busied herself with straightening and cleaning the shelves. Rena joined her and the two worked harmoniously. I watched them carefully, recalling the time (October 9) when I first noticed that Rena was becoming actively interested in gaining Ann's friendship. No one said anything to them and they sat down when they finished. They talked very little. They are both quiet children but I wondered if they were happy enough at just being together. Especially Rena who seems to desire the friendship. Ann hasn't chosen Rena, as I recall, but never seems to resent her.

November 18: I was interested today in watching Lurline. She seems to want so much to be friends with both Agnes and Rhoda now that the latter pair appear to be pals. She shared a mutual choice with Agnes in September. I have watched the evidence of change in this setup, though, and I think it will show up in another test. The children are free to sit where they wish to work when I am working with a group in the circle. Lurline sat with Rhoda today. Often Agnes and Rhoda are together and she sits with both. Today Agnes was not at her table and Lurline sat by Rhoda. She seemed very happy. She never seems to miss an opportunity to be with them. I have been giving Agnes and Rhoda extra and new work after school, and Lurline often stays too. To me it seems that she just wants to be with them though she has asked for some special help. I hardly think that she wants to work ahead with them for she doesn't do as much working as she does staying. This is done by them as they wish, and nothing is expected of them except what they want to accomplish.

November 20: This morning we cooked breakfast on the Y furnace. Emily and Rhoda (mutual friends in September ingroup A) stayed with the frying pans—through red arms and faces and smoke in the eyes. Lenora stayed behind them beginning to help: "I don't want to wash dishes." Hannah was across the furnace working with Emily and Rhoda. (I recall that Hannah chose Emily on the friendship test, but Emily did not choose her.) Ann stayed in the background doing the thankless but necessary jobs. She cleaned the tables and kept working, not seeming to care about not being in the midst of things and away from the warmth of the fire. I am wondering about this quality in her. This is one of the many times when she has shown what might be termed unselfishness.

Does she carry this too far for her own good? Would it cause her to be imposed upon? How can I help her to be unselfish and yet not go too far in that direction? Should I try?

Mary, Rena, and Ella (all fringers) did any work they were asked to do in connection with the breakfast. It was noticeable that none of them pushed themselves any though. Would they be more popular if they pitched in and helped? Does their reticence contribute to their being unpopular? What causes them to be so retiring in manner? Mary is large and a little clumsy. Ella appears nervous and is usually dirty. Rena is as neat and clean as a pin. She has been a bad tattler but is improving in this. Tess (another fringer) was absent today. Ella, Mary, and Tess have less money than some of the others. Rena's family could provide what she asks for, but she doesn't always get it though. What part does this play in their being quiet? In their being unpopular in the group? Does it play any part in this? All of the members of the fringer group belong to what might be termed low or moderately low socio-economic status. Tess's family is more interested in her education than the others, but because of the burden of such a large family they are handicapped. I would think that the social position of these families is about the same.

November 24: Rhoda lost her notebook today. Lurline immediately jumped up and busied herself helping to look for it. No other child was up until Rena joined her. Emily has gone to the hospital for an appendicitis operation. Her father sent word by Rhoda. The class seems concerned and wants to do something for her. I am not surprised at this. Hannah said today, "Emily is just so sweet and nice to all of us." Does that explain Emily's popularity?

December 2: In figuring out the school milk order today we hit a snag. Up until now we have multiplied by twenty cents, but today the amount was twelve cents (due to the Thanksgiving holidays). We had to learn to multiply by twelve. Some caught on more quickly than others and offered to help. I was interested in whom they wanted to help. Agnes chose Patricia (mutual friends on the September test). Rhoda chose Lenora (the same ingroup). Lurine chose Ann (the same ingroup). Jane chose Hannah as she (and only she) did on the friendship and work tests. Roy, the new boy, said he would help Ella. I noticed that no girl offered to help her. Tess offered to help Rena (both are fringers). Mary (another fringer) was absent.

December 4: We discussed what we would do for Emily today. The group suggested that we bring money and then decide.

December 7: Fifty-five cents came in this morning. We decided to get color books, crayons, and follow-the-dot books for Emily. Hannah said, "She can enjoy those in bed." Jane ventured to agree with

her. I was surprised that she made a contribution. She rarely does. Maybe her interest in Hannah helped. The two are sitting side by side at their table now. I hope their feeling of friendship will grow. I am watching for evidence.

December 11: Agnes and Rhoda sit on the same side of their table. Today Rhoda came to me and asked if I could make room for Lurline at their table. "We'd like to have her sit with us." I explained to Rhoda that I thought she had better wait until later since it would mean I would have to move Ella or Mary (both fringers) from opposite to them. I said that I wouldn't like to hurt their feelings. She immediately said, "Oh, I wouldn't like to hurt their feelings either." I had had some ideas when I allowed the two fringers to sit together opposite Rhoda and Agnes. I'm not sure that I will be able to help in that way but think it is worth a try.

December 18: A number of the children wrote Christmas letters today to me and to the principal. They decorated them in all manner of ways. I was particularly interested in Agnes' note. She said, "Daddy has got a job at another town now and I guess we'll move during the holidays. I don't want to move, and if I had the money I would live all by myself where I live now." This statement rather well explains how I think her mother feels. Moving has been mentioned before and both Agnes and her mother seem worried over the idea. The father seems never to be satisfied. Has worked in several different places this fall and the mother has got to the place where she shows her anxiety over it. I am wondering what effect this home situation has been having on Agnes all along. Could it be the cause of her rejecting children in the group? Does she feel insecure? How shall I better help her?

December 30: I saw Agnes and her mother up town. They are not going to move. I promised to visit them soon. Maybe I shall learn more then.

January 1: Lurline (ingroup B) called me on the telephone today to say that she has a new baby sister. She has been worried about her mother all fall—often saying, "Mother just can't work looks like." The next child is five and Lurline is nine. Will this new baby have any effect on Lurline? She seems to welcome it. I wonder if it will take her interest and if she will be less worried over trying to make friends with Rhoda and Agnes. It may not.

COMPARISONS WITH THIRD-GRADE ANECDOTES

A considerable reorientation of Miss D's observations and of her viewpoint is evident when these records are compared with the ones she made during the previous year on the same group

of children. She now sees with much greater clearness what really goes on among these children. This is illustrated by the sequence of anecdotes in which she describes the budding friendship between Rhoda and Agnes. She also has begun to distinguish patterns in the apparently spontaneous groupings of children as they carry on their varied activities in the classroom and on the playground. Her account of the cook-out breakfast at the Y furnace calls attention to this patterning. Another new perspective that Miss D is showing in the second series of anecdotes is the tendency to see cliques as units for observational purposes, with individuals as dynamic elements in these larger wholes. The description of the roles of the various members of ingroup A at the fight between Louise and Lenora illustrates this viewpoint. Another change is her greater sensitiveness to the sorry lot of the fringers who have been unable to win places in either clique, and her active experimentation with ways to integrate them into the group. In various anecdotes we find her successively complimenting Ella on her new white sweater, lending Tess money, and seating Ella and Mary together at a table with Agnes and Rhoda. Finally, this teacher is now continually on the lookout for clues that will explain what underlies each child's status in the class. This preoccupation is indicated by such questions as: Are Rhoda and Agnes rivals since they are both very capable and dependable? Is it Ella's appearance that causes her to be rejected? Do Rena and Ann paint together because neither paints very well? Are Mary, Tess, and Ella fringers only because they belong to families of relatively low socio-economic status? Is Emily so popular because she is "so sweet and nice to all of us"?

The fourth-grade anecdotes provide superior information about and insight into the girls being studied. Brief and abridged as they are, the records reproduced above still afford us interesting and significant continuities of episodes that show changing social relationships. The developing friendship between Rhoda and Agnes comes to mind again in this connection. Their story is obvious. But that of Lurline, which is associated

with it, is more subtle; yet it is adequately revealed by the record.

If we follow Lurline through this period, we see her first (September 17) sitting with her mutual friends Ann and Agnes. When Agnes moved to another bench Lurline followed her after a few minutes. On October 15, Louise, who belonged to another friendship clique, said that she did not want to sit by Lurline. A month later (November 18) the teacher summarized a series of situations that showed Lurline's struggle to be included in the developing friendship between Agnes and Rhoda. She pointed out that Lurline "seems to want so much to be friends with both Agnes and Rhoda . . . she never seems to miss an opportunity to be with them." Miss D then related how Lurline stayed after school when Agnes and Rhoda remained to do advanced work in long division. She recognized that Lurline was merely pretending to be interested in that work, commenting that "she doesn't do as much work as staying." When Rhoda lost her notebook (November 24), "Lurline immediately jumped up and busied herself to look for it" though no other child did so. The teacher also saw that interaction between the mutual friends Lurline and Ann was influenced by the Agnes-Rhoda friendship. After characterizing Ann as "noticeably a person who works hard and often alone" and as one who "stays in the background doing thankless but necessary jobs," she recorded an incident (December 2) when Lurline volunteered to help Ann with arithmetic, observing that Agnes and Rhoda already were helping other children.

Through all these records we see that the growing closeness of the friendship between Agnes and Rhoda, coupled with Ann's tendency to work alone, was leaving Lurline without the daily experience of a close friendly relationship, something that she obviously needed and was seeking. On December 11 the opportunity came to help her on this quest, when Rhoda asked the teacher to let Lurline have a permanent place at the table with Agnes and herself. But the teacher refused because she was trying to promote a friendship between two fringers whom she had

placed together at that table and she did not wish to separate them at that time. Another reason for Lurline's great need for friendship became apparent during the Christmas holidays when she telephoned Miss D to announce the birth of a new baby sister. In that connection the teacher remarked that Lurline had been "worried about her mother all fall." Lurline will be remembered, too, as the girl who repeatedly sought close social and physical contact with the teacher during the greater part of her year in the third grade. These records certainly accumulated enough evidence to indicate that Lurline's autumn in the fourth grade was one of particular strain and uneasiness for her because her two chief areas of social relationship—her family and her peer group—were undergoing changes that threatened her security. It might have been better for Lurline if the teacher had accepted Rhoda's suggestion that she be given a place at the table with Agnes and Rhoda.

SUMMARY

We feel that the sociograms and anecdotal records on the social interaction of children collected by Miss D during this autumn term with the fourth grade carry three major values. First, they permit the interpretation of the influence of cliques on the life and behavior of children in school situations and so make the teacher aware of forces and pressures on children that originate in the child society and are realities in every classroom. Second, the picture that such records give of the interaction between an individual child and his peers provides the means for evaluating the child's situation with regard to one of his most vital needs, that of establishing "belonging" in groups of his peers. Records like these are on a par with physical growth charts, medical records, records of the child's early development and family relationships, and intelligence and scholastic accomplishment tests, in providing basic data that are essential for gauging the child's adjustment, emotional preoccupations, and developmental needs. Third, such records make it possible to see how various individual children influence clique formation and the goals toward which cliques strive. The motivations that

are strongest in the more influential of its members give to each clique its characteristic quality and pattern in the life of the class.

By supplying these records, Miss D has demonstrated that she has learned how to observe and record many vital facts about group formation and social interaction. She has also demonstrated by her running comments in the records that she gradually is learning how to distill meaning out of the anecdotes in terms of the pressures and motivations that shape the behavior and needs of individual children. These records mark a signal advance over the descriptions of the actions of individual pupils that she wrote while they were in the third grade. In the next chapter we shall follow her further study of this fourth-grade class. We shall see her noting and analyzing changes that occurred in the structure and dynamics of the ingroups of girls. We shall reproduce a short case study that she made of one individual who seemed to play an especially important role in effecting these changes, and we shall examine the anecdotal records that she accumulated during the period of group disintegration and re-formation.

X

Studying the Interaction of Children in Groups: Part Two

THE READER will have noted from the anecdotes covering the autumn of 1942, presented in the preceding chapter, that certain changes were taking place in the structure of the ingroups among these fourth-grade girls. Of course Miss D saw this and her desire to understand it led her to undertake the further investigations which are to be the subject of this chapter. About the middle of December she decided to check her observational findings with another friendship test, and late in January she gave a second work-companion test. A number of considerations influenced these decisions. Miss D wanted to know whether the new alliance between Rhoda and Agnes would show up on a test. She wondered whether Rena's efforts to associate herself with Ann would result in a mutual choice or whether this fringer was setting her sights too high. Carolyn and Louise had moved away and there was the question of what this would do to the structure of ingroup A. Emily had been ill and out of school for a month, and the teacher wanted to know how this prolonged absence had influenced the cohesion of the clique in which she was the key person. Edna May was a new girl. Where would she fit in?

THE SECOND SET OF TESTS

On December 18, Miss D again asked the children to list the names of their three best friends and also of no more than three children whom they would not choose for friends. She organized their responses into the sociogram shown in Figure 3, using the

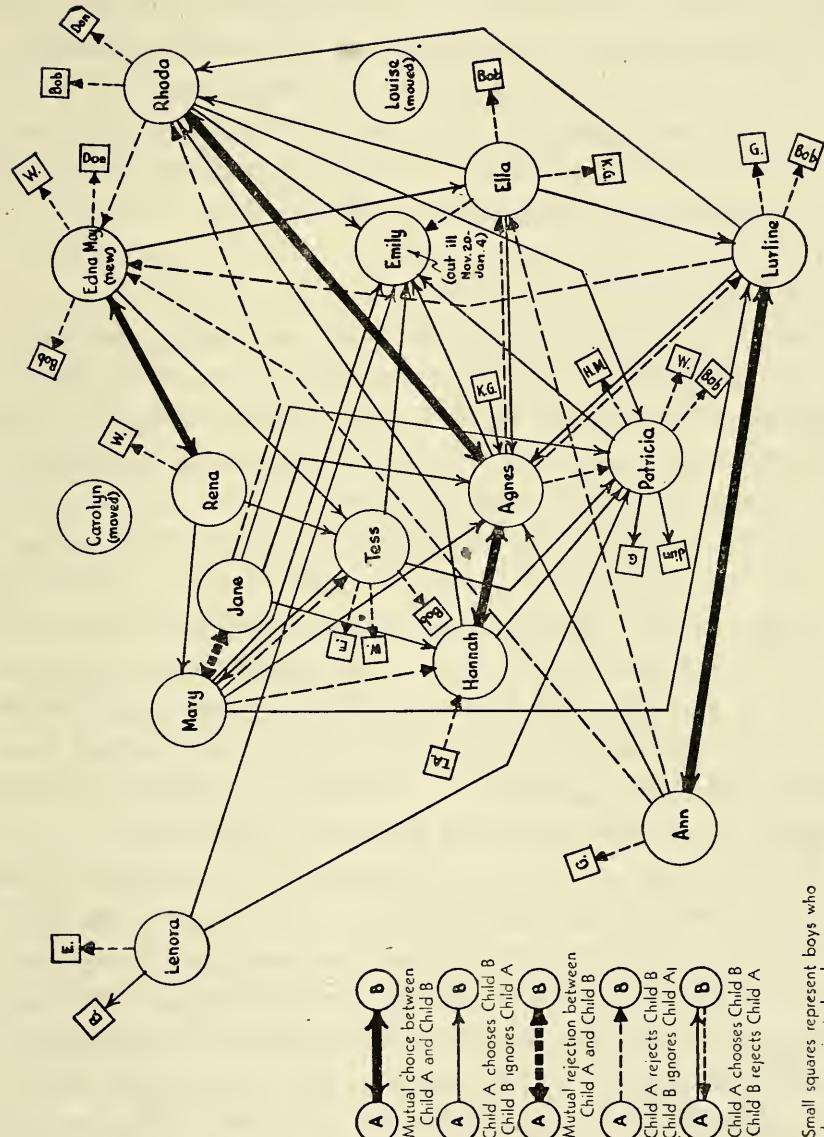


Figure 3
FRIENDSHIP SOCIOGRAM—GRADE 4—DECEMBER

Small squares represent boys who chose or rejected girls, or were chosen or were rejected by girls

same procedure as on the previous tests except that she placed each child in the same position on the chart as in Figure 1. She did this to facilitate comparisons.

This sociogram, like the first one, was interpreted jointly by the teacher and the consultant. It was compared with the two earlier sociograms and also studied in the light of the anecdotal records collected during the autumn. At first glance, it is the changes in relationships that are most strikingly revealed in Figure 3. But closer study shows in addition many equally interesting and significant consistencies of relationship.

Disappearance of ingroups A and B

Both of the friendship cliques that were so clearly marked in Figure 1 had disappeared in December. The cause for the break-up of ingroup A is not far to seek. The chief evidence of its marked cohesion in September was the seven mutual friendships within the subgroup, as shown in Figure 1. The cement that held this clique together was supplied by Emily who participated in four of the mutual choices, by Rhoda who shared in three, and by Carolyn, Louise, and Lenora each of whom was concerned in two. But at the time of the December sociogram (Figure 3) both Carolyn and Louise had moved away and Emily couldn't participate in the choosing because she was in the hospital. Simple physical separation had broken up ingroup A. No psychological or emotional factors need be considered.

The disintegration of ingroup B cannot be explained so easily for all of its members had been in school regularly, with every opportunity for satisfying interaction amongst themselves. Comparison of the two sets of friendship choices made by members of this clique indicates that its breakup was an active social process and that Agnes, its key figure, was responsible for it. For Agnes altered every one of her choices and rejections in December while several of the other girls stuck to their September choice. For example, Lurline and Ann still chose each other as best friends in December, and both of them likewise continued to choose Agnes as a friend just as they had in September. But Agnes, for her part, ignored Ann in December and

rejected both Lurline and Patricia despite the fact that she had shared mutual choices with all three of them in September. Even more astonishing were her new friendship choices, for in December she chose Rhoda and Emily, both of whom she had rejected in September when they were key persons in ingroup A.

Certainly these facts support the hypothesis that Agnes destroyed clique B but they give us no convincing reason as to why she did it. We are not even sure that she was conscious of what she was doing or of her reasons for such a dramatic change. Nevertheless, Agnes' ruthless rejection or ignoring of former friends who were still attached to her, does raise a serious question about her adjustment as a person. This treatment of loyal friends suggests either an unstable, socially irresponsible personality without a sense of loyalty, or a tremendous need for security and for personal importance that could spring only from lack of affection at home or from a deep sense of personal or family inferiority. Obviously, Agnes called for careful psychological study for she was likely to need a good deal of help and guidance.

One would expect the breakup of the two friendship cliques in this class to result in a considerable increase in individual social insecurity and in tensions between classmates. For the time being nobody could be quite sure who her friends were. A second result would likely be a reshuffling of the friendship patterns, the emergence of one or more new cliques, and the restructuring of relationships more or less throughout the group.

Evidence of this increase in tension is to be found in the change of rejection patterns in the group. In September the girls had directed most of their rejections against the boys, as is customary among children of this age in our culture. Only Agnes and Mary had rejected girls. Agnes had rejected three key people in the other friendship clique while Mary, a fringer, had rejected two other fringers and Lurline. The September sociogram consequently showed only six rejections of girls by girls and all of these were made by two persons. In contrast, the December sociogram showed seven of the thirteen girls rejecting other girls. More than half the group identified one or more

other girls with whom they did not wish to be friends, so that a total of ten of the thirteen girls was actively rejected by some other girl. This is very striking evidence of an increase in tension among these girls and implies that the morale and working arrangements, as well as the friendship cliques, of the group were shaken.

Consistencies with the September sociogram

It is startling and probably very significant that, amid the chaos of relationships resulting from clique disintegration, both Emily and Agnes retained their attracting powers. Although Emily had been absent for a month and was not present when the test was given in December, Figure 3 showed her still chosen as a best friend by six of the thirteen girls and rejected by only one. Agnes was chosen as best friend by seven girls on both tests and did not receive a rejection on either test. This is all the more striking in view of the role she played in breaking up clique B.

Another consistency in the two friendship sociograms is the fact that the fringers (Mary, Tess, and Ella) continued to choose prominent members of the class like Agnes, Emily, and Rhoda, despite the fact that these key persons continued to ignore them. The three fringers also still tended to ignore or reject other fringers with whom they might be expected to associate themselves because of common levels of ability, family status, and experience background. Apparently these fringers, like many adults, desired to be identified with persons of prestige and held their own status peers in low esteem. On the other hand, an improvement in their friendship situations does appear when the September and December friendship sociograms are compared. In September no girl had chosen Mary, Tess, Rena, or Ella as a best friend. They were quite isolated. In contrast the December sociogram showed Mary and Tess each chosen twice and Rena and Ella each chosen once. Furthermore, Rena had a mutual choice with Edna May. Apparently the teacher's efforts on behalf of these fringers were beginning to bear some fruit for, despite the rising tension among the former members of cliques,

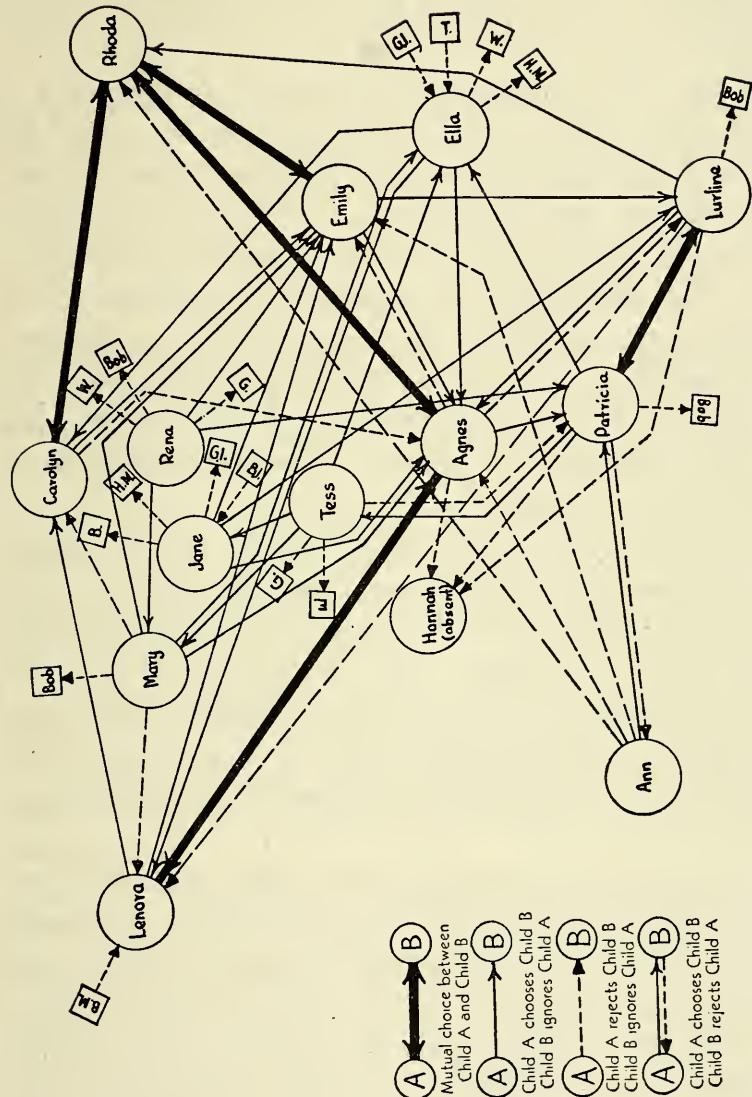


Figure 4
WORK-COMPANION SOCIOGRAM—GRADE 4—JANUARY

these fringers were no longer unchosen. Rena deserves notice on another score. She was consistent on both tests in rejecting no other girl, but she did completely change her pattern of friendship choices between the two tests. In September she chose two high-prestige girls as friends but in December all of her choices went to fringers.

The sociometric data obtained in December are seen here to confirm a number of the hypotheses suggested by Miss D's anecdotal records gathered during the autumn. This increased her confidence in her growing power to see, select, and record significant facts about the group life and personal interaction of her pupils. The December test apparently was given in the midst of an extensive reshuffling of relationships among these girls and the process of group re-formation probably would go on for some time. This gave both point and direction to additional sociometric analyses as well as to continued observation and anecdotal-record keeping.

With the opening of school after the Christmas holidays Emily returned to the class. Carolyn also re-entered the class when she moved back to the community later in January and Edna May left the school early in January. Late that month the teacher again asked the children to list the three classmates whom they preferred as work companions and also to name three with whom they did not care to work. Their responses are diagrammed in Figure 4.

It is apparent at once that this work-companion sociogram resembles the December friendship chart much more closely than it does the October work-companion sociogram. The class is not well structured. Ingroup A has not re-formed with the return of Emily and Carolyn, although some of its elements have been reconstituted. Ingroup B has now completely disintegrated and its members seem full of hostility toward Agnes' new friends and to some extent toward each other. On the face of it, Figure 4 appears to chart friendship relationships as often as work-companion choices, probably because of continuing tensions generated in the breakup of the old cliques.

The roles of individuals

The teacher was concerned with understanding each individual as a dynamic social force among the girls, as well as with learning the patterns of association and friendship. She was equally interested in studying the influence of group factors on the development of individuals. The roles of a number of the girls showed sharp contrasts both in their influence on others and in their own response to the group changes. For example, Ann drew the choices of six girls on the initial friendship test, and these choices were evenly distributed among clique A, clique B, and fringers. She was judged to belong to ingroup B because she had mutual friendships with two of the girls in this group. But as clique B broke up Ann was observed by the teacher to stay more and more in the background, to work alone. The teacher remarked that "she has shown what might be termed unselfishness. Does she carry this too far for her own good?" Evidently Ann did carry her withdrawing tendency too far because the succession of sociograms showed a steady loss of status with the other girls and an equally steady increase in resentment or hostility on her own part. The January work-companion sociogram finally showed her chosen by nobody and making only one choice for herself. It also showed her rejected by the only person she chose and herself rejecting three other girls. Ann's is a record of a most serious deterioration of relationships with her classmates.

Rena was the most consistently isolated girl in the group. For a brief month she enjoyed a mutual friendship with Edna May, and in September she was momentarily rejected by Mary, another fringer. These are the only two mentions that Rena received on all four tests. Her presence seems to have mattered very little to the others.

Rhoda, Emily, and Agnes were the three girls most frequently chosen as friends or work companions and therefore must be reckoned as the three most influential girls in the class. Both Emily and Agnes were chosen twenty-seven times in the course of the four tests, while Rhoda was chosen sixteen times. Since

these girls were the most desired in the group as friends and work companions it may be supposed that their own choices would have an important influence on the feelings and morale of the other girls. A brief analysis of the choices made by each will therefore be given.

Rhoda was the most constant of the three in her own choices. On each of the four tests she chose Emily and Agnes and on two of them she chose Carolyn. Only two other girls were ever mentioned by Rhoda as choices. This constancy in the direction of her social responses and the fact that she herself was active in developing a friendship with Agnes, despite the latter's initial rejection of her, point to Rhoda as a continuing constructive force in the social relationships of the group. The anecdotes for the full year deserve careful study to gauge the extent of her influence, especially over Agnes. An analysis of them as well as of the sociograms seems to justify saying that Rhoda always knew with whom she wished to associate, that she was consistent in her choices, and that she took the initiative in establishing and maintaining the relationships which she desired.

Emily shared with Rhoda the quality of being constant in her choices, for she also chose the same two work companions in January that she chose in October. On the other hand, her choices of work companions were not identical with her choice of friends, for Rhoda was the only person whom Emily chose on all three of the tests she took, and there were five girls who were chosen only once by Emily on the three tests. On the other hand, Emily rejected no girl on any test. Evidently Emily's consistency was in the constant sweetness and evenness of disposition that seemed to mediate her dealings with all the other girls. The girls seemed to count on this quality in Emily for, despite her limited scholastic abilities, six of them chose her as a work companion in October, and five of these six continued to want to work with her in January. On one test or another Emily was chosen by thirteen different girls, so her ability to get along with all sorts must have been extraordinary. The good will of the group surrounding Emily must have afforded her a security at school that stood her in good stead in the face of her slow academic development.

Agnes' role in the group was very complex and calls for somewhat more extensive analysis. The January work-companion test, like the earlier ones, showed her to be one of the most influential girls in the group for she was chosen as a work companion by seven of her classmates, including four who chose her in October. She had been chosen by eleven different girls on one or another of the four tests and so she was shown to have both attracting and holding powers that were only a little less strong than Emily's. An especially interesting aspect of Agnes' own choices is the fact that they were almost always directed toward girls who also chose her. She made only two choices of girls who did not reciprocate on the same test, and one of these was the choice of Emily in December, when the latter was absent and therefore could not respond. No other girl in the class even approached this ability to choose only the persons by whom she would be chosen. Nor was this matching due to the fact that Agnes held to the same choices throughout the four tests. As a matter of fact, her choices did not show anything like the constancy of Rhoda's or even of Emily's. Over the four tests Agnes chose seven different girls as friends or work companions, but no one of them was chosen on all four tests or even on any three consecutive tests. Furthermore, every one of the seven girls that Agnes chose at one time or another she also rejected at some other time, excepting only Ann who was ignored on the last two tests. In contrast to Emily's constancy of temperament, Agnes showed swift changes of attitude toward her classmates, alternately accepting and then rejecting them, or vice versa. There is some evidence that this created tension and perhaps even hostility within the group, for Agnes drew two rejections from other girls on the fourth test—the first that she had received. Ann, who had chosen her on all three previous tests, was one who rejected Agnes in January. Perhaps Ann held her partially accountable for her own complete loss of status in the group. Carolyn also rejected Agnes on the fourth test, perhaps in protest against her new close relationships with Rhoda and Lenora, who formerly were pals of Carolyn in ingroup A. One wonders how long Agnes could retain her power to win the choices of so

many of her classmates in the face of her sudden reversals of attitude toward them.

The feelings of various girls toward one another also seem to have been affected by Agnes. As evidence we note that there was a contrast between the reactions of the girls in ingroup A (Emily's clique) and ingroup B (Agnes' clique) that could hardly be credited to chance. No girl in the first subgroup rejected any other girl on either the September or January sociograms, excepting only Carolyn's rejection of Agnes in January. Nor did any girl in the second subgroup, except Agnes herself, reject another girl in September. But in January, after Agnes had rejected her old friends and made new ones, three of her former associates in ingroup B rejected other girls. They directed five rejections against classmates who were, or recently had been, mutual friends with Agnes, one against Agnes herself, and a seventh rejection within the clique itself. Some sort of resentment or hostility apparently stirred all three of Agnes' former associates in ingroup B, but curiously enough most of it was directed against Agnes' later companions rather than against their old leader herself. This raises the questions of how extensive the loss of class morale was and of how swiftly these individual wounds were healed.

THE TEACHER STUDIES AGNES

Many of the teachers who were studying group formation and social interaction also chose one or two children as objects of special study. Some of them picked isolated or rejected children. In midautumn, when Miss D noticed the unique configuration of the choices and rejections made by Agnes, she decided to make a special study of this child in the hope of discovering some clue to her motivation. She seized every opportunity to visit Agnes' home and to extend her acquaintance with the mother and other members of the family. In March 1943 she made a summary of all information she had gathered, extensive excerpts of which are reproduced below:

Agnes' home and family

Agnes is the middle child in her family. She has a brother and a sister who are older than she. Tim is twelve and in grammar school,

while Annette is fourteen and in high school, Esther, nine and in the third grade, comes just below Agnes, and the youngest child is Phil, seven and in the second grade; the baby of the family died at birth.

The mother is average height and looks a little dumpy, though not especially fat. She weighs about 150 pounds, has a round face, rather coarse features, and dark complexion and hair. She is neatly dressed and a little retiring of manner, but warms up after she starts talking. She seems interested in her children, has a rather good sense of humor, and laughs quite a bit. She dips snuff. The mother doesn't seem to let things worry her and appears to have a lot of patience. She helped Phil with a kite for at least an hour one day while I was there, talking to me at the same time. He tried to go out the front door with it and tore the kite completely up. Then he came back and she started all over again. Her only remark, in a very calm voice, was, "Didn't you know the wind was coming in that direction?" she worked on the same kite until I left. Another day he "shot pool" all afternoon, using a stick and spools of colored thread. They fell off the trunk one by one, then he picked them up and started over. I'd have preferred that he stop, but it didn't seem to bother her in the least so we talked above the noise.

Agnes' mother does not work outside the home and hasn't since I have known her. She has mentioned getting a job several times, but added, "I have all I can take of here." In discussing their last move she said, "We have more yard here and I could leave the children better if I went to work." On one occasion she said, "I asked so-and-so to get me a job, but she didn't." I'm wondering if she really doesn't want to work.

She seems very interested in cooperating with the school. We are using her hot plate now, and she is always willing to send anything that we need. Last year she sent lunches and she will do sewing or ironing any time that we send it to her. She has put her own work aside and done these things for us and sent them right back. She attends PTA rather regularly. Never missed when she lived in the town but it is quite unhandy for her now. She came down several days just before the new school kitchen opened and stayed all day. I feel that I can count on her for help at any time.

Agnes says that her mother rarely buys much for herself in the way of clothes and the like, and I have heard the mother make the same statement. "The children just need so much that I leave off things for myself as much as possible." She sews well and enjoys it. She has done sewing for outsiders but has been refusing lately, for she says she can't get what it's worth and she really doesn't have the time either. She does sew for the family and for her older sister.

Agnes' little print dresses look very nice as does the sewing of curtains, costumes, etc., she has done for us.

Agnes' mother is thirty-four and her father is thirty-three. I do not know her father, but Agnes says he is tall. He is hardly ever home at a time I could visit them. In fact I have never found him there. He left our town in the fall. They moved from the town to a suburban village, an adjoining community, about the middle of November when the father quit work. The mother says that the insurance man found the house for them and got the trunks.

The new place has a much larger yard than the town house and the mother seems to like that. She said, "I can't keep this place clean for children coming and going but in town there was always a crowd too, in the house or waiting outdoors. Why, my children couldn't even eat for them or wouldn't eat for they wanted to play so bad." She doesn't seem to worry about the children especially. They now live in a four-room house for which they pay \$18 rent. It is fairly nice looking on the outside but the paint is a dirty yellow-brown. The inside is ceiled and painted a dull tan and this is wearing off in spots. It has been abused both inside and out. There are marks on the screens and other traces of carelessness in the care of the property. I do not know whether the marks were put on the building before or after Agnes' family moved in. The house in the town showed somewhat similar signs.

Agnes' home is fairly clean. The curtains usually seem clean and the linoleum freshly scrubbed. There are four rooms—a sitting room with venetian blinds and a three-piece suite, also bed on which the mother's niece and the oldest daughter sleep. The niece works and would like to have a room to herself. There is another room which contains two beds. 'The rest of the family sleep there (the mother, Tim, Agnes, Esther, and Phil). Agnes says that she sleeps with Esther and that when her daddy is at home they put up another bed in the everyday sitting room." In this room is a small stove, a flat dresser—without a mirror—a trunk, two or three chairs, a sewing machine, and radio. The machine is covered with a large turkish towel and the radio sits on it. The kitchen has an electric refrigerator, a cabinet sink, small table, and a dining-room table. The latter is covered with a light green oilcloth with big green flowers.

In speaking of places where she has lived Agnes said, "I've lived everywhere." She ducked her head and blushed as she said it. I laughed and she said, "Yes'm, I have just about." I found she has lived in X (where she was born), in Y, at Z, in our town, and in the suburbs. Since moving to the suburbs, the family has been without

the father most of the time. He went first to W where he worked only a few weeks. Agnes told me it was not what he expected. One week he sent them \$17, another week \$30. Then next week Agnes said, "Daddy didn't send us any money this week. I guess he didn't have time to mail it." I suggested that I thought so too, or maybe that he had sent enough the week before to last over the week. She said, "Maybe so."

In a few weeks he was back home and got a job again in another town. The mother said, "He never did like this place. He has worked there before." The work didn't last more than a month, however. After that he left and went to T and is making shells in some war plant. He likes T better than W. Just recently he wrote that he was coming home for the weekend. One of the other children in the family said to the mother, "I wonder if Daddy will go back. I hope he does." I ventured to say that I was sure that the children would be glad to have him home and said something about their missing him. The mother quickly said, "Oh, that isn't it. They are ashamed of him moving about and quitting so much." Are the children identifying with the mother? Did the mother cause the child to say that? The mother also said, "That is why Agnes didn't tell you sooner that her daddy had gone to T."

I do not have information about why the father has worked on so many different jobs. According to the mother he was dissatisfied with his pay at his last jobs here in our town and was going to quit. The bosses wanted him to stay on. He said that he would if they would pay him higher wages. They agreed and he worked on for a while before really leaving. In the meantime there had been "talking" going on. I do not know the nature of the talking except that part of it concerned drinking. It seems that one man was involved in most of the talking. Part of the time Agnes' father thought he was his friend. According to the mother, both her husband and the friend finally agreed to quit, but instead the friend stayed on and took the job. The friend's wife was heard to say that he didn't mean to quit and only wanted the job which he gladly took—at a lower wage than had been paid Agnes' father.

There were also other tales concerning drinking. Christmas 1941 Agnes' father had whiskey in the house. The friend came to the house from work, drank several glasses, got drunk, and tried to throw his money in the fire. They kept him from it, but later he lost it and accused Agnes' father of taking it. This is the story as the mother told it to me. On another occasion the friend asked Agnes' daddy to work for him on Thursday night. He did, and the friend worked for him on Friday night. The mother said, "And he went to work

and told them that he had to work for Ned (the father) because he was off on a big drunk." She added that he wasn't drunk at all, but that he and another man went to a big dance down in the country. She evidently didn't go. Does the mother approve of her husband to the extent that she would have me think? How many of these tales does she really believe? How much of her feeling does she consciously or unconsciously pass on to her children?

Several times I have thought that I noticed a tinge of aggravation when she mentioned her husband's leaving town. On one occasion I am sure I did not imagine this from her tone and movement of her shoulders when she said, "Ah, I wish to goodness Ned had not quit that job. I told him not to." What effect does this turmoil in the home have on Agnes? Does this tend to make her feel insecure? The mother says that they had saved up a little money and had bought some bonds, but that they have had a hard time since her husband left town.

Agnes' mother says that the children eat when they come from school and drink milk at bedtime. She buys four quarts of sweet milk a day besides the buttermilk, which some of the children prefer. I do not think that the table is set in the afternoons but each fixes his plate and eats as he or she comes in. "There is always a mess in the kitchen when the children start getting home," the mother said, "but I don't worry about that."

Agnes usually eats a good breakfast, though she did not eat any the last day I visited the home. The mother was out of cocoa; Agnes ate only part of an egg. The mother thought that not having cocoa caused Agnes not to eat—and to have a headache during school. I was interested during this visit to the home that Agnes, who rode home with me, went into the back room and didn't come out—not even when I left. She had talked glibly at school and on the way home, though she did say at school that she had a headache. As soon as she got home she asked about the aspirin. She took one and we didn't see her again. The next morning she said she felt better and that her two fever blisters were getting better. I noticed that she had an aspirin box in her dress pocket. I wonder how many she is allowed to take.

The mother's niece has been with them part of the year. She and Annette, the older daughter, seem congenial, the mother said. While the family lived at Z the mother's brother, his wife, and four children lived with them and paid board. During the last four months another relative stayed with them a few weeks. Agnes said that the relative paid "for she said she always liked to pay her way wherever she was."

Agnes says that she likes Esther (age 9) best of her brothers and

sisters, for they play together. The mother said that she thought the two would always be closer to each other than Agnes and Annette because of Tim's coming between them. Agnes told me once about the two of them tearing up the older sister's doll while the latter was in school. She said, "When Annette came home we felt guilty and kept sneaking around." After a while the older sister found out what had happened but they were not punished.

The father never whips Agnes or any of the other children. Her mother does the switching. "She gives us plenty of hickory tea." Agnes tells of how she used to run when her mother started to whip her, "but now I have learned better sense for she whips harder when she does catch me." With all of the switching the mother does Agnes says she pets her more than her daddy does. She says, "Esther is tall like Daddy and he pets her. He doesn't fuss at her. He fusses at me sometimes, especially once." I didn't learn about the "once." She says her daddy is nervous and when he fusses it is usually about the noise. The father gives his money to the mother to take care of and pay the bills. Agnes says, "He keeps some for himself." The mother gives the children the money they ask for. Agnes says, "If we ask Daddy for money he says, 'Go ask your mother.'" The mother usually gives Agnes money on Saturday and her daddy does, too.

Agnes says that she and the two boys aren't afraid of anything, but the other girls and their mother are afraid of storms. In speaking of the house they now live in the mother said, "You certainly can see storms from here and the wind has a clear sweep." During one visit the mother looked down at Phil's white socks and said, "Phil didn't want to wear socks this morning for he said the children would think they were poor." She laughed and said, "Oh, wear them on, we don't care if people think we are poor, just so we aren't, do we?" What does this indicate about the mother?

The mother is pleased with Agnes' progress in school. She sent word when the last report came back that that was the best report that had ever come in her house. On a visit she said, "Agnes doesn't catch on to that dividing very fast." I told her that was something Agnes had wanted to do and that it was not expected of her right now anyway. She said, "Oh well, then." Agnes' mother says that they may move to the grandfather's farm when school is out. "I don't want to take the children out of school, but they [her mother, father, and sister] will really need all of our hands this summer and then I can do a lot of canning, too." She didn't know whether or not they'd come back in the fall if they went.

The loss of Phil's coat was mentioned during a visit. The mother thought he left it in the locker at school and kept forgetting it. I said I thought I could help Agnes remember. She said, "Well, it

really isn't all forgetfulness. I think they are just bashful about asking and looking for it. They are all like that." We remembered the coat and Agnes went to look for it the next day. She wanted Rhoda to go along. They soon came back though saying that the regular teacher was out, and Agnes said, "I'll just wait until she comes."

Annette, the oldest child, is very attractive looking except for her mouth which is rather large. She has a small, neat figure and has a good bit of personality. I have always found her pleasant and interested in carrying on a conversation. I hardly know Tim but Esther appears to be more like Agnes than like Annette. Neither Esther nor Agnes has the personality that Annette has and both of them seem quieter. Phil, the baby (age 7) appears to me to have more nearly Annette's personality; he too has a ready smile and seems to lack the retiring appearance which Esther and Agnes have.

Agnes' mother says that she was a wanted child. She said she wanted all of the children—even the baby that died at birth—but she doesn't want any more. Agnes was born in the X village, December 1, 1931. She weighed seven pounds while the other children weighed nine. The mother said that the others were really too big, or weighed more than the average, but went on to say that she really enjoyed handling a chubby baby. Agnes has always been thin and little, the smallest of the children, "but she doesn't look like it now. Look at those long legs."

All the children were breastfed and the mother says she had no special feeding problem. Agnes was never sick when she was a baby except for the earache which she had once in a while. In fact, the mother says that Agnes has been sick very little in her life and insists that the throat trouble ("strep" throat, I think) in the fall of 1942 was the most serious trouble she has ever had. She has had whooping cough, measles, and chicken pox but all of them were light cases. She has been vaccinated for smallpox.

When Agnes was just a tot living in X she was crazy about Mrs. B, a neighbor, who petted her and gave her things. Mrs. B and her husband had no children so they bought cute clothes for Agnes, toys, etc., and kept her at their house much of the time. They let her do just as she pleased and "really caused her to get lots of whippings." Agnes' mother says that Mrs. B loved Agnes but "simply ruined her." She says that Agnes was cute and dainty looking at that time.

Agnes at school (fourth grade)

Agnes is now 11 years old. She is among the taller members of the class and has the appearance of being thin, especially when com-

pared with the other class members. Agnes is strong and well and is in school regularly. She is hardly ever absent. She eats well in the dining room, hardly ever leaving any food; she always brings milk money on Monday.

She has not been given an intelligence test but from working with her I would rate her among the average or slightly above. Agnes is a harder worker than she is a naturally bright child, I believe. She seems to have a great desire to do as much and as well as the best and I have observed that she puts effort into the attempt. For instance, Agnes does not catch on to new skills as quickly as does Rhoda but she, for some reason, is anxious to do just what Rhoda does. Rhoda asked for special help in arithmetic work in which she is interested but which the class hasn't had. Agnes immediately wanted the help, too, but she has found it harder than Rhoda. It is not required, necessary, or especially desirable, but Agnes has stuck with it and will not be "outed." She asks for work even when Rhoda does not stay for help.

Agnes is interested in painting and does very attractive, large work. It is usually clear and neat. She is also a good housekeeper, seeming to see things that need to be done and going ahead with them. Often she notices that the sink needs cleaning and does the scrubbing without mentioning it. She arranges cushions that get out of place and often straightens chairs as we leave the room. I'd say that she has a good bit of initiative—especially in the practical things like cleaning and also in planning and directing plays. In directing plays she does not seem to be bossy but I cannot tell for sure. No one has ever complained. Agnes enjoys active play. She plays dodge ball, tag, and seems to enjoy the exercises and marching which the majority of the class enjoys. She is also interested in singing and in rhythms, and usually takes part in these. She is usually polite, remembers to say "excuse me" when she walks in front of anyone, etc.

Agnes has a way which I can't exactly describe. She seems to be shy and to keep in the background in many ways, yet she does seem to have initiative. She has a way of looking dumb and embarrassed when a group asks her anything and when I do, for that matter. She seems to enjoy telling stories to the group and is quite willing if asked, but does not push herself noticeably. She does offer at times but even then she does it in a rather unobtrusive way. She sits and listens intently to stories told by other children, sometimes chewing her thumb. I think she enjoys them, for she remarks about them later, but as she listens it is hard to tell what she is thinking. In other words, I can seldom tell whether she really likes a story or not at the time.

Agnes says that she wants to be a teacher. Even in the third grade she expressed this desire and continues to this year. Last week she said, "I can't wait to grow up so I can teach school." Agnes seems more mature to me than most children in the room. I base this on her taking responsibility in keeping the room, in running errands, etc. She went on an errand during rationing week and I was perfectly willing to risk her to search out the place and the person and to be responsible for getting the article back to school. She was back in far less time than I had expected. There were several "ifs" and "ands" in the directions and she had to use her own judgment and reason about what to say and do if she ran into an obstacle. In other words, she seems to be able to decide on the next course and more or less to know what I'd tell her to do if she came back to me and asked.

Agnes always seems to see the situation at hand more nearly as I'd see it than as the children would. In discussing the fact that one of the boys hid some pencils belonging to several children, Agnes was the first to say, "That isn't wrong but it is a poor way to play." Just about what I was thinking. She also seems to sense what I'd like for her to do or for others to do. If too many want to come in early in the morning she will say, "I'll be glad to wait until the door opens." If several ask to go to the library Agnes will say, "I don't mind staying here. Too many have asked."

Agnes rarely has to be spoken to about anything. She goes ahead with her work and with her play and housecleaning. She only talks a reasonable and expected amount. When I have asked her a few times if she is about through when she has appeared to be talking a little too much she has always blushed, dropped her head, and seemed to "shrink in shame." She may feel hurt or mad, but during two years I don't think I have ever seen her act mad. I have seen her seem to pout a tiny bit with the children two or three times, but I have never known her to show the least bit of anger or resentment toward me.

To play in school or to waste time seems to provoke guilt feelings in Agnes. She works well—maybe too well—but the slightest word causes her to seem to withdraw or to crawl inside her shell. If I merely speak to her kindly she is extra quiet for a long time and seems to move around more quietly than ever. The same is true when once in a great while Agnes forgets her responsibilities, such as taking the milk bottles back to the crates, and is reminded by a boy or girl. She appears to like to do everything well and to want others to do the same thing. She often says, "I do not know why Carlton doesn't remember to straighten the tools or Dunlap the

books." When Agnes is denied something that she asks, as to go to the library or for notebook paper, she makes no outward show of feeling unless a faint blush and a shrinking back could be termed such. She never seems to want to beg as some of the children do. In fact, I have heard her say to Lurline, "Why do you beg Miss D? Didn't you hear what she said?"

I have never heard Agnes mention herself in relation to her present health or her appearance. She has not begun primping at the mirror as Rhoda has. She does put on nail polish sometimes but most of the children, even the boys, do that once in a while. Agnes so far shows little interest in boys. She does not move her chair away from a boy in the circle as some do. I don't know whether she likes them any better than the other children do or not. I wonder what part her seeming to want to conform plays in this. In a discussion of sweethearts recently Agnes said, "I don't have a sweetheart." Some of the others said they did have one.

Agnes enjoys telling about how a friend in a nearby town petted her when she was a baby. It seems that she had her own way at the neighbor's and her family could not take her home without her screaming, so they would wait until she went to sleep. She seems especially to enjoy talking about this lady. She seems most embarrassed about her daddy's leaving his jobs so often and taking another job. She tells me about this on the sly, when no one else is near. Agnes' family has a dog, but she doesn't seem to care much for it. She said one day, "That's our old mangy dog." I asked her if they did anything for the dog and she said, "Oh, Mama does, I don't."

Agnes has very little money in school other than what she brings for lunch, milk, and notebook paper. She does have some allowance on Saturday. I don't know how much but not so much after she buys the school necessities, for she seldom brings pennies for the Red Cross and for similar calls. Agnes never mentions church or Sunday school as some of the children do. She is always at school before I get there in the mornings and is waiting near where I park. Just as Agnes is always early in arriving she is almost always with the very last group to leave in the afternoon. I have noticed, though, that she hasn't stayed as late lately as back in the fall.

Hypotheses about Agnes

Miss D simply summarized her knowledge about Agnes in this report. She was not yet ready to make an interpretation of the child's motivation and behavior, but the questions that she in-

serted here and there in the quoted excerpts do show that she was formulating some initial hypotheses. We can see that her understanding of Agnes had deepened remarkably since that time during the preceding year when she said of Agnes, "I like to depend on her." In the summary she recognized a great many more of the factors that have made Agnes what she is and she retained a full measure of sympathy for the child. Certainly with this knowledge she was in a much better position than before to help Agnes, both as an individual and in her interaction with the other children in the class.

Several factors in Agnes' family background and early life experience suggest possible hypotheses about her motivation. They relate primarily to her desire to love and to be loved, to her sense of social status, and to her desire to be accepted and important in groups of her peers.

A number of the facts gathered by Miss D suggest that Agnes never had the place in the affection of her parents that she desired and needed. First is her position in the birth order of the children. She was the third child in a sequence of six, and despite the fact that she was breastfed, her mother could not have given her much time and special attention after the first few months of her life. Second and even more significant, was her mother's attitude toward her as a baby. Her mother took obvious pride in the large size of all her babies—except Agnes! She said that she "really enjoyed handling a chubby baby," and went on to add that Agnes had always been "thin and little." This differentiation of Agnes from all the other children and the fact that the mother liked to handle a chubby baby suggest that the mother had not found as much pleasure in the infant Agnes as she had in the others. Particular emphasis must be given this because Agnes actually was an average-sized baby and not a tiny one—she weighed seven pounds at birth. Apparently, the child sensed this lack of pride in her as a baby.

Further evidence is afforded by Agnes' easy acceptance of the attentions offered by the neighbor, Mrs. B, and her continued mention of this relationship as something that gave her great pleasure. These facts suggest that Mrs. B's love had met a

need that was not being met adequately at home. Agnes' account of her resistance against being taken home from Mrs. B's—the family always had to wait until after she had gone to sleep—supports this conclusion. Mrs. B's love and petting of Agnes naturally resulted in some "spoiling" of her; it also may have been resented unconsciously by the mother. At any rate it "caused her to get a lot of whippings." This does not imply that the mother was without maternal feelings toward Agnes but suggests rather that her affection was not strong, and deep, and sure enough to give Agnes the security, the sense of being loved and prized, that she needed. Nor did the father make up for this lack. Despite all the whippings supplied by her mother, Agnes said that the mother "petted" her more than her daddy. She also reported that Esther was the father's favorite and the recipient of his caresses while he "fussed" at Agnes.

On the basis of all these facts we can develop the hypothesis that Agnes in the fourth grade still had a deeply ingrained need to be loved, a continuing drive to behave in ways that would win affection, and a persisting desire to be reassured. We also might wonder whether she trusted love, whether she dared to let herself become fully dependent in such a relationship with anyone, for she had had the experience of accepting Mrs. B's love and then of having her move away. Perhaps she unconsciously tried to avoid further hurt by withdrawing from close relationships almost as soon as she found them, but equally unconsciously was driven to seek new affection bonds with others. This might account for her swift changes of friends. Years of practice at reading how other people, and particularly adults, felt about her may account for Agnes' sensitive appreciation of the teacher's reactions and feelings and for her quick, pained, and withdrawing response to small reprimands or expressions of displeasure. All these of course are only tentative hypotheses to be checked and altered in the light of additional information and further observation of Agnes. They indicate that a continuing need for affection was one of Agnes' persisting drives but they also hint that she was afraid to trust close relationships for fear of being hurt when they terminated.

The facts gathered by Miss D also suggest that Agnes was strongly motivated by a fear of loss of social status through her family and by an equally strong determination to win social recognition for herself. Her family appeared relatively underprivileged in social and economic matters, her mother seemed fearful of a further loss of social standing, and the children apparently were aware of and shared this fear. The relatively underprivileged status of the family is indicated by the character of the living arrangements and habits of the family. The threat of further loss of status is indicated by the father's unwillingness or inability to hold a job for long and by the family's frequent change of residence. The mother's fear of status loss is demonstrated through her stories in defense of her husband and her anxiety and annoyance when he shifted jobs. The children's awareness and sharing of this fear are shown by the younger boy's resisting wearing his white socks and the older boy's hoping that his father would return to T after a brief visit to the family. The mother's fine loyalty to the PTA and her good service to the school in various ways also may have been rooted partially in a desire to show herself, as well as others, that she could "hold up her end" in community enterprises. Agnes' sensitiveness is indicated by her explanation that her father "didn't have time to mail" the needed weekly check to the family, by her delay in telling the teacher of the father's new job in T, by her care to speak to the teacher about her father only when no other child could hear, and by her obvious embarrassment at having lived in so many places.

This home background and Agnes' feeling about it are sufficient to account for her panic before a group in a situation where she did not feel secure, for her shyness about seeking her brother's lost coat, and for her extreme sensitiveness to criticism received in the presence of others. Agnes' strong desire to win a respected role for herself is shown by her diligence in her school work and by her desire to accomplish as much as anybody else—even to undertaking to learn long division after school. Her studied attempts always to do the right thing, to anticipate the teacher's wishes, and to accept adverse decisions without

complaint, and her expressed desire to become a teacher are further evidence. Such motivation could account for her dependency on errands, her careful attention to directions, her care to keep the sink clean and the chairs properly arranged, her admonitions to other children not to beg the teacher, and her constant recognition of what the teacher desired of the group. This hypothesis, that Agnes feared a loss of social standing and was determined to win a respected place for herself in the community, also must be validated or modified on the basis of more facts and further observation.

The desires that mediated Agnes' strivings and behavior within her peer group must have been quite complex and only partially conscious and planned. In the first place we must assume that she shared the wish of all children to belong, to be accepted and highly regarded by her agemates in the class. But her sensitiveness to the possibility that her family as a whole might lose standing in the community, and her doubts of her own power to hold the affection she gained were so deep-seated that they must have influenced the way she interacted with the other girls. For example, they may have caused her to be less direct and overt in seeking friendships than most children are, and also to be more cautious about giving friendship until she was sure it was returned. Fear of loss of status may have led her to seek affiliation with and recognition from the more prominent members of the class; but at the same time her inability to feel secure in a close relationship may have caused her to refuse to admit to herself that she liked these prominent girls, and so to reject them on a test, until after they had given concrete evidence of their acceptance of and regard for her. At the same time it may have seemed so important to her to stand well with these influential girls that, when she had almost won a strong place with them, she was willing to go to almost any lengths to cement this status. The evidence for this is that under these circumstances she neglected her former friends and even overtly refused association with them when they seemed persistent in tagging along.

Another factor that may have influenced Agnes' way of deal-

ing with her peers is her extraordinary sensitiveness to the many little signs of approval or disapproval that people give by voice inflection, gesture, posture, and the like. Our hypothesis is that Agnes had been unconsciously studying how to win affection since infancy and so had become very alert to these signs. This sensitiveness, we believe, had been heightened still further because, in common with her mother and siblings, she also had been covering up family matters that shamed her. Being more experienced than most children in noticing the signs that boded approval and disapproval, Agnes apparently was unusually quick to sense the way her conduct affected her classmates and therefore was able to go about getting an important place for herself with unusual skill. This probably created many pangs and much confusion of feeling among the other girls. Agnes also seems to have had some tendency to use her fellows as cat's-paws. A number of the teacher's anecdotes hinted that she got other children to ask questions about matters that aroused her curiosity, perhaps when she feared that the question might be regarded as inappropriate.

Again these are only hypotheses—guesses as to the motives and earlier learnings that may have controlled Agnes' behavior—and should be checked and modified on the basis of much longer and more penetrating study. It would not be just or scientific to characterize Agnes as ruthless, disloyal, underhanded, or even egocentric. It is to be hoped that her future teachers will approach the child's complex problems sympathetically and will respect her, not only as a valuable helper, but also for the possibility that she may become a person of great and wholesome social sensitivity. Such a development can probably take place only if Agnes is helped gradually to understand and deal with her own desires and feelings within a larger framework of insight into how her behavior affects others. It is not at all improbable that Agnes actually will become a teacher, but whether she will become a good teacher or a teacher with dangerous blind spots in her dealings alike with children and colleagues, depends in considerable measure upon the guidance she receives at school during the next six or eight years.

FURTHER STUDY OF GROUP DYNAMICS

Miss D continued to keep anecdotal records on the interaction among her pupils while she was studying Agnes and working on the sociograms. We shall pick up these records where we broke off on New Year's Day and reproduce excerpts extending from January 4 to April 20. These particular excerpts were selected from the longer records because they concern Agnes directly or else provide information about the girls with whom she was most frequently associated. These anecdotes are included in the report for three purposes: first, to permit further study of Agnes' motivation and of her role in the group; second, to provide the opportunity for exploring the value of knowledge about group formation and interpersonal relationships in interpreting classroom situations and events; and third, to demonstrate the progressive development of the teacher as she continues her investigations.

Excerpts from the anecdotal record

January 4 (First day of school after Christmas holiday): Agnes, Lurline, and Hannah met me at the car this a.m. The three of them often do this—each scrambling to take my things—and each anxious to "go in." Soon two or three children saw us and all followed along to the steps. We had to stop and talk about who should go in as all couldn't. Lurline and Hannah seemed to have no idea of staying out. Agnes however said, "I'll wait." The children were excited over having Agnes there. Lurline said, "I'm so glad Agnes didn't move." I had talked to Rhoda over the phone (during the holidays) as she knew that Agnes might be at school. I was interested that Rhoda came in and appeared at first not to notice Agnes. The children didn't know that she knew Agnes was there so Hannah said, "Rhoda, see who is here." Rhoda went on about putting her things away with only an "uh-huh." The children looked at her in surprise. I was amused. Did she just assume Agnes would be there? Or was she jealous? Was she really glad to have Agnes back? Did she feel that Agnes should have told her that she would be back at school today? Agnes appeared to be pleased to be back, saying, "I sure am glad that we didn't move. I like it better here."

Emily was back in school today. She has been out since November 20. Had an operation for appendicitis. The children were glad to have her, it seemed. Rhoda, Agnes, and Lurline were holding on to

her off and on throughout the day. Rhoda said, 'It's nice to have Emily back.' Lenora was especially glad to see her. Lenora called her "hon" as she often did Carolyn. Ann said nothing. Lurline was the only child outside of Emily's former subgroup who seemed especially interested. All were noticeably interested in "her operation."

January 6: Lurline sat as close as she could to me all day. She rooted Ella off the workbench twice today so that she could sit next to my shelf. I suppose it was to be next to me. Every once in a while she clusted my shoulder.

January 11: Rhoda explained to the class last week about her junior commando club idea. The children were enthusiastic about it. She chose herself as secretary and Emily and Agnes to assist her. The other officers were Lurline, Jimmie, Ronny, Patricia, and Hannah. This is Rhoda's plan exactly as she wrote it to me (during the Christmas vacation). She explained (over the phone) that she got the idea from the funny paper, and that each should wear an arm band, salute, etc.

The Jr. Commando Plans

Genreals—Ronny, Patricia. Their job will be to sit at the desk which my daddy will take care of. They will be boss of the whole thing. Each offoicer will sluted when meet on the st. We will have a way to keep up with those do not keep this rule.

Secretary—Rhoda. I hope the class will let me and still not mind. I will always be on the job untill death depart. All members will recive their orders written down on paper from the sectary.

Commander—Jimmie. His job will be to take care of the drilling—that left right stuff. After the meeting we will plan the next meeting and what we will do in between times. Miss D, we would like to tell the class Monday and meet one day next week. We would like to meet in our school room if Miss P and you would not care. After we meet, if you all will not mind we would like to drill.

Conals—Hannah, Lurline. They will have as much honer as the higist officer. Will also receive orders from the sectary.

Members—All who wish to join.

In the letter accompanying this set of plans Rhoda said, "Patricia is going to be my very best friend now since Agnes has moved. I hope she will have me." She also said, "I hope Patricia and I can get this started." Before reaching school Monday, January 4, Rhoda evidently decided to give Emily and Agnes jobs as her assistants. I'm sure that she thought (when she wrote these plans) that Agnes

had moved. I wonder if she forgot about Emily who had been absent so long.

January 13: Rhoda, Agnes, and Emily collected pennies today for the junior commando arm bands. The total was forty-five cents. We figured how much cloth we would need and found we were short of our goal.

January 14: Rhoda is sitting by Agnes at the table. Mary sits across the table. Today I noticed Mary writing. At first I said nothing. Later I saw her writing again when others were not. I asked if what she was doing could be put away for a while. She blushed and put her notebook in her table. Agnes said, "She's writing me a letter." I said, "Mary doesn't really need to write you a letter. She could just *tell* you, you are so close." The group came to the circle and nothing more was said about it until later in the day Mary was writing again. Rhoda came up to me and said, "Mary writes letters to Agnes all the time." I remarked that it didn't seem necessary and Rhoda went back to her table. After a while I found a note on my shelf. It was a letter Mary had written to Agnes. It said, "I don't like you, Agnes." I notice that in both friendship tests Mary chose Agnes as a best friend. Does she really not like her? Is she merely trying to get Agnes to notice her?

Rhoda and Agnes, who were incompatible on the September friendship test showed a mutual friendship on the December test. I was not greatly surprised at this. I wasn't sure but thought I was seeing the change before the December test. Did Rhoda really take the lead in bringing about the change as she appeared to? Rhoda accepted Agnes in September and Agnes rejected her. Was Agnes maneuvering to bring this friendship about even though she didn't openly foster it?

January 22: The children came in excited this morning. Several were talking at once. "Carolyn is here. Carolyn is here. She's over at Lenora's," etc. About ten minutes after nine Lenora, Carolyn, and Emily came in together. All three were grinning. I was interested in watching the girls today. Lenora made room at her table for Carolyn. Agnes said, "I'll sit over at another table so Carolyn and Lenora can sit together." Lenora said, "No, we can all three sit here." Most of the class seemed to welcome Carolyn back. Lenora, Lurline, Agnes, Emily, and Rhoda seemed especially glad to see her. Lenora couldn't keep her mind on anything except Carolyn; neither could she keep her hands off Carolyn. They exchanged bracelets. Lenora tried on Carolyn's cap. As we went to the basement and to lunch, Lenora held Carolyn's hand, put her arm around her, etc. Lenora's face was wreathed in smiles. What effect will Carolyn's return have on

the class? Will she retain her popularity? What is the basis for Carolyn's popularity?

January 27: Rhoda has been unusually quiet Monday, Tuesday, and today. She ordinarily takes the lead in our discussions, talking more than most children, unless held in check. She has ideas to offer and keeps busy doing the classroom jobs that need to be done—not the cleaning especially, but keeps information, books, etc., at her finger tips. She appears listless and different this week. I wonder why. Has some change taken place in her? How does she feel about Carolyn's return? Could Carolyn's coming back make such a change in a person? What else could cause this noticeable change in Rhoda? Is she sick? Has some home situation thus affected her?

January 28: It is noticeable that the girls in the class are not doing things as groups. In the last few weeks I have felt this more and more. As I have felt this I have referred to the December friendship test. The feeling I have and facts shown on the test seem to agree. This seems to point to a breaking down in the group. What will come out of the shuffle which is evidently taking place? What are the forces beneath the change? What effect has Emily's absence had on the change in the groups? Louise's absence?

January 29: In September Ann and Agnes were mutual friends according to the test. In December this mutual acceptance was absent. Ann accepted Agnes but Agnes ignored her. On the recent work test Ann rejected Agnes; the latter ignored Ann. What has caused the change between the two girls? They appear to be friendly enough though. I haven't noticed them together much lately—in fact only once. A few days ago Ann, Agnes, and Lurline stayed after school and talked to me a long time. This was while Rhoda was so quiet (Tuesday, I believe) and she didn't stay as she often does. Ann sat by Agnes across the table from me but I noticed no special feeling on the part of either. No two of the three walk home together. Lurline sat as close to me as she possibly could today. In fact she leaned against my arm, playing with my collar and my hair. I touched her knee once and immediately she caught hold of my hand. Is she missing some affection which she received before the new baby came? I have noticed so often lately that she holds my hand as we walk thru the hall. In fact she has done it so much that I now recognize the hand without looking. The other day I looked at her soon after she took my hand and said, "Oh, it's you." She laughed and said, "Any time anybody slips up and catches your hand it's me." We laughed and walked on. Lurline has been next to the youngest; a boy has been the baby for about six years. She has al-

ways been sickly though and her mother has pampered her quite a bit.

February 5: Rhoda has been quite interested in my age. She has figured pretty well and isn't far wrong in her estimate, which she based on something I said about the other war and the grade I was in. She and Agnes teased today about calling my mother and asking her. I laughed and said nothing. This afternoon about six the phone rang and I answered. The voice said, "May I speak to Mrs. D?" I laughed and said, "Oh no." After school Rhoda, Lurline, Agnes, and I made a poster to keep a record of our vestment fund. We put this in the hall. They painted a girl in a vestment and tacked the painting with the poster.

February 8: Rhoda left me a letter today. It said:

I got fooled this time about your age, but I will try again sometime when I know you are not at home. I am going to tell all the girls when I find out including Lenora (who wants to know bad) and Agnes. I think the picture of the girl with the vestment on is pretty. Don't you? Don't you worry I am going to find out your age. I'm sure of that. You just wait. You just wait.

February 9: Agnes, Rhoda, Ann, and Lurline often write me letters about one thing and another. Often they are asking something of me—to get up a play, "to play some plays," to let them go to the library for materials, to let them help in the kitchen, etc. This is a copy of a letter written by Lurline (dated February 2):

Dear Miss D:

You are a good, good teacher. We hope you like us. We like you. Agnes and me would like to swap places, and may Ann and I help in the kitchen after Patricia and Lenora help? I love you and I hope you love Agnes, Ann, Rhoda, and I.

Love, Lurline.

I was interested in a conversation which took place just as the children were leaving. They had written notices to take over to the village asking that the people either send their tin cans to the school or put them in front of their houses so they would be collected on Wednesday, February 10. I had checked almost all of them to see that they were readable, and as I was finishing I heard this conversation. Lenora in an excited tone called out, "Where is Carolyn?" Patricia said, "There she is, Lenora. You worry about Carolyn all the time." All in the room laughed. I did not look up. Tess said to Lenora, "You do all of the worrying too. Carolyn never does worry about you." I thought that sounded a little unusual for Tess to say but I thought also that she was about right according to

my observations. Buddie was standing there and he said, "I guess if one of you'd die we'd just have to have a double funeral." I was wondering what I should say to stop it when Patricia said, "Where is Lurline?" Jimmie who hadn't said a word up to now said, "Well, Patricia, I think you worry about Lurline about as much as Lenora worries about Carolyn." I looked up just in time to see Patricia's face turn crimson. I said, "These are okay. Take them along and be sure to go to every house." Children recognize that certain things are true. How should I deal with this type of thing—or should I? Was it best left as it was? Will it be repeated? Would it be repeated more if we had discussed it? After all, was there any harm done?

February 10: Agnes wrote me a letter today. It said:

Dear Miss D:

Who is the keeper of the apt. house where you live? I like to come to school because you are very good. I would like to change places with someone. I hope you can go up with us. It is too long to think about it but I thought I would let you know. May Rhoda and I go to get some notebook paper some time this week? May we play some plays today?

Love, Agnes.

It is interesting to notice that every letter tells me how much they "love me"—then ask a favor!

February 12: We had a valentine box today. Phil and Jane gave out the valentines. Lenora got 11, Patricia 13, Jane 12, Tess 11, Emily 18, Agnes 14, Lurline 14, Carolyn 9, Rhoda 18, Mary 12, and Hannah 8. I didn't get the number the other girls got. Ella was out today. I was interested that Emily—the star of acceptance in the girl group—got the largest number of valentines; Rhoda got the same number, 18. Mary and Tess got more than I really expected and Hannah, with 8, got less. Agnes and Lurline with 14 each came next to the top. Agnes sent a valentine to my mother. The only child who did.

February 15: Each child in the group wrote a letter to the two grade mothers today thanking them for the valentine surprise. Agnes wrote:

Dear Mrs. G:

We are sorry that you didn't get to come to the valentine party too. We had a good time but we would have enjoyed it better if you were with us. I was surprised to see Mrs. B come in the door.

Love, Agnes.

I was absent and Agnes also wrote a note to the substitute at the same time.

Dear Mrs. W:

We enjoyed having you with us. You are a good teacher. I hope you can teach us next time when Miss D is out. I like every new teacher that comes but I like you best of all.

Love, Agnes.

February 16: Agnes and Rhoda—mutual friends on the December friendship test—wanted to work together to clean out the lockers today. I was interested later in the day to notice when checking jobs for tomorrow that Rhoda wanted to paint a picture about a victory garden and chose Lurline to work with her instead of Agnes. Agnes rejected Lurline on the December friendship test. Agnes is the type of child who probably wouldn't let us know how she felt. I base this on past observations. I wonder though if she didn't resent "being left out." She might say something "catty" to some of the children on the sly but as I know Agnes she wouldn't want us to know her real feeling. I can't describe Agnes. She is quite obstinate in some ways, yet seems to like for us to think she is ready and willing to cooperate. She has a way of skipping around, is always in the midst of things but gets there unnoticed, and is ready to withdraw if any withdrawing is necessary. "I'll be glad to stay outside if too many want to go in with you," is a typical remark of Agnes' when too large a group meets me in the morning.

Rhoda is still interested in my age. She said a few days ago, "I am mad at your mother." I said, "Why?" and she said, "I called your mother up and asked her how old you are and she wouldn't tell me." I laughed and said, "I didn't even know you called. What did she tell you?" Mama had told her to ask me. We had a good laugh and she said again that she'd find out—yet. It's gotten to be quite a joke with us all.

February 18: Agnes was excited over dollar day. She told me early this morning that her mother was going to town and would bring her "something." I thought no more of it but she evidently did for as she was putting her snowsuit on this afternoon she said, "I just can't wait to get home and see what Mama brought me." I noticed that Agnes sat with her thumb in her face chewing on it rather than sucking it. I have noticed her doing this several times but always when she was sitting on the rug intently listening to a story.

February 19: In talking as we came from lunch today the subject of sweethearts came up. There was some giggling by most of the group when the subject was mentioned. Harry started the conversation by saying out of a clear sky that Patricia was his sweetheart. Patricia was quick to say that she didn't claim him. Mary said, "My sweetheart is in the fifth grade." She didn't tell us his name. Rhoda

said her sweetheart lived in C. Lurline said that Randolph (a boy in this class) is her sweetheart and Agnes said, "I haven't a sweetheart." Agnes told me today that her daddy would come home tonight for the weekend but she said she thought he would go back.

I was writing some examples for a group of girls after school today. I had the numbers right through twelve, then I put 3, 4, 5, instead of 13, 14, and 15. I noticed it and began putting in the ones I had left off. Lurline was standing over me and said, "Oh, Miss D doesn't know her numbers." Agnes said, "Yes she does, or she would be laid off the job." As I see the children they like to tease—Agnes included—but Agnes often seems to be the first to come out of it and make a more serious remark. She enjoyed Lurline's teasing but she wouldn't have me "feel teased" very long. That is my opinion about Agnes' remark. Why else would she always appear to be serious and "nip a joke in the bud"? Did she want my blessing? Agnes said that her mother bought her some underwear and socks dollar day and she seemed pleased. She said also that her mother didn't buy herself anything. "She never does." She said again that she hoped her daddy would get home for he'd give her "lots of money."

February 22: Rationing week. Four of the girls wanted to come to school and help during the week. Rhoda came four days, Agnes came two (and one other one and couldn't get in, she said), Lurline two days but went home sick the middle of the second day, and Ann came only one day. They ran errands and cleaned the room. On Tuesday all four of them were there and they "played plays." Agnes and Ann talked very little about their homes and families. Lurline and Rhoda both discussed theirs quite a bit.

March 2: Agnes brought back the curtains which she and Rhoda washed last week. Her mother ironed them nicely.

March 15: Rhoda has an idea about making cookies for the vestment fund. She called over the telephone to say that she knew how and that she and Agnes would be glad to make them. I suggested that we wait and figure the cost before we came to a decision.

March 23: Emily is reading much better. I notice that she enjoys trying to read more than she did and though she seems a little nervous about it at the beginning she appears to get over that shortly. The children seem to appreciate the fact that she feels nervous, for today as she was beginning to read Henry said, "Go on Emily." Just in a minute Rena said, "Emily will read in a minute." Emily smiled and the group returned the smile. I noticed that she didn't seem hurried again during the period.

March 30: Rhoda got a permanent today. Tonight she called me

on the telephone to say that she had it and added, "I hope you won't be mad." I said that I wouldn't but that I really didn't especially like permanents. She said, "I knew it. That's why I said I hoped you wouldn't be mad." I recall that Patricia got a permanent early in the year and when she asked if I liked it I said, "Well, it looks very nice but I really like little girls just the way they naturally look." Since then they have teased me about not liking "bought curls."

April 1: Lurline and Agnes met me at the car this morning. "Your shoe is untied." That my shoes didn't tie didn't make an impression until I said, "That's strange, isn't it?" and looked down at my feet. They looked down and saw that I didn't have on the oxfords I'd been wearing. Lurline said, "The April Fool is on us." Lurline and Agnes told of this off and on all day. It struck them as being funny that I had fooled them when they were trying to fool me.

April 5-9: Spring holidays. Rhoda called twice this week, once to say that she had made rice-crispy cookies and that she had figured the number of pieces to a recipe. The other time she called was to say that Agnes has a new permanent. She had been to Agnes' the afternoon before. She thought Agnes' hair looked very nice but said, "I don't like mine for I don't know how to fix it to make it look good like the girl fixed it."

April 13: Agnes has not mentioned her permanent. Ann came in today with one also. I notice that the four who have them are Patricia, Rhoda, Ann, and Agnes though Patricia has had hers for some time. The other three are all new. Lurline doesn't have a permanent but she has curls every day. Patricia also rolls hers up every night lately. Emily has no worry—hers is naturally curly. Do these others want their hair like hers? Do they just want to dress up?

April 16: I watched the group as they played today. They were jumping rope and were running in pairs. Mary and Ann were turning. I offered to turn so one could jump but they said they'd rather turn. Patricia and Emily ran in together, Rhoda and Agnes, Hannah and Lenora, Carolyn and Jane were together. Ella played off to one side entirely alone. Agnes has not mentioned her wave yet. She has been moving about quietly and seeming to fit in with whatever the group does. Lately she has done nothing to make her noticed one way or the other. She interests me because she is so unobtrusive. Patricia rushes to the rug if I ask; she also rushes to do whatever else is asked. In contrast to this Agnes always does what is asked, but shyly—apparently.

April 19: Emily came in this morning with a dress on just like one Lenora has. I was amused at the children. They seemed to think

that the dress belonged to Lenora. At last Lurline could stand it no longer and asked her. Emily just smiled and said, "No, it's mine." Agnes was sitting by Lurline on the workbench. A conversation was going on between them just before Lurline asked Emily about the dress. I wonder what was said. Agnes didn't join in the teasing or joking about the dress. It was all good natured and I was interested in the way Emily took it. Her unassuming way and the fact that nothing seems to rile her in the least must have something to do with her popularity in the group.

April 20: Agnes and Ann stayed and cleaned the room and worked on the quilt this afternoon. I helped them and Agnes talked quite a bit. This is in contrast to her behavior in the group. She is very quiet in a big group. In a group of just a few she opens up nicely. This afternoon she said that the lady she used to love so much when she was little came and spent the night with them last week. Agnes said, "She said that I used to be pretty and that now I am getting fatter and a little prettier than I've been." She also said she thought her family would move to the country when school is out. I said, "Does your daddy still like his job in T?" She turned very red in the face and said, "He is working in B now. Him and another man." I said I supposed he was making more there. She said "yes" and immediately changed the subject to Easter and an egg hunt.

Some of the hypotheses confirmed

For the most part the anecdotal record speaks for itself. Only a brief interpretation is needed. Some of the hypotheses about Agnes are supported by the facts revealed in these notes. Among them is the conclusion that Agnes is ashamed of her father's behavior and fearful that her family will lose status. This is suggested by her unwillingness to talk about her family before Rhoda and Lurline when the latter were freely discussing their own families. It is confirmed further by her embarrassment when she admitted to the teacher that her father had changed his job again. Despite Miss D's efforts to protect her feelings by supposing that he was making more money now, Agnes immediately changed the subject.

The child's propensity for getting herself noticed in very unostentatious and indirect ways is illustrated by her hanging on to Emily on the day of the latter's return to school when

Emily was the cynosure of all eyes—yet, although it was recorded that Rhoda, Lenora, and Lurline were glad to see Emily, Agnes was not reported as especially glad to see her. Again Agnes was mentioned as prominent in the group that welcomed Carolyn when the latter came back, despite the fact that no love was lost between them. Throughout the period of the anecdotes Agnes continued to show her extraordinary social sensitivity, her great skill in doing the “right” thing to bring favorable attention to herself. She graciously gave up her place at table so that Carolyn could sit next to Lenora, she was the only child to send a valentine to the teacher’s mother, she wrote “nice” letters to the grade mother about the valentine party and to a substitute teacher. She checked Lurline’s teasing of the teacher about a mistake at the board. All this behavior indicates years of attention to the problem of how to get along with people, a persisting preoccupation in this area that hints at continuing feelings of insecurity and at fear of loss of status. Equally significant were the things that Agnes refrained from doing and yet perhaps stimulated other children to do. It was her pal Rhoda who undertook the active investigation of the teacher’s age, but she revealed that Agnes, as well as Lenora, was “very anxious” to know though we have no clue as to who started this inquiry. The girls had known for some time that Miss D did not care for “bought curls,” so Agnes never mentioned or otherwise called attention to her own permanent wave, although Rhoda and other girls frequently talked to the teacher about theirs. Again Agnes did not tease Emily about wearing a dress identical with one of Lenora’s but it was her seatmate, with whom she had been whispering, who asked Emily pointblank whether it was her own dress. All of this, together with her shy, half embarrassed way of doing things, points to her great care not to offend people and to appear always in a favorable light.

These anecdotes, of course, are not adequate to validate all of the hypotheses about Agnes that were presented earlier, so it was natural that the teacher should remain somewhat of two minds as to the best way in which to help her. We are sure, however, that Agnes’ later teachers should continue to make her as

secure as possible through their personal relationships with her—they should both feel and express some warmth toward her if this is possible with sincerity. They also should value her social effectiveness and do their best to assist her in developing it still further by learning to consider the social needs of her friends as well as her own. Perhaps one of her teachers will be able to get close enough to her as a person to help her analyze the implications of her behavior, but this certainly will have to be approached very gradually and carefully to avoid deepening her insecurity. Taken as a whole, we feel that this series of anecdotes has provided much helpful information both about Agnes as an individual personality and about her role in the group, but we do not see it as leading to a complete diagnosis of her complex motivation nor to a clear-cut prescription as to how she can be helped.

Rhoda demonstrates how groups are organized

These anecdotal records provided Miss D with further opportunity to see into the processes involved in group formation and to recognize the influence of group dynamics on classroom events. But before discussing these topics, we must emphasize here that the children knew nothing of the outcomes of the sociometric tests. They were never told of any of the choices or rejections made by other children, nor did any of them ever see a sociogram or know that cliques were being studied by the teacher. Day after day in the classroom and on the playground these children chose sides for group games, picked confidants with whom to share "secrets" and accounts of experiences, and selected companions with whom to work on various scholastic tasks. It apparently did not embarrass them in the slightest to have the teacher ask them to write down the names of classmates with whom they did or did not desire to associate in one of these ways. It seemed sensible to them that this information would "help" the teacher to fit them in together in the work of the classroom. They had no suspicion that they were being "studied." We feel that it is very important that this should be the case whenever a teacher explores the usefulness of these techniques.

The breakup of ingroups A and B during the autumn offered an unusual opportunity to study the restructuring of the class during the winter. This was enhanced by the uncertainty in the class as to whether Emily would be strong enough to return to school immediately after New Year's and by the possibility that Agnes would move to another community before school reopened. Looking at this situation through Rhoda's eyes during the Christmas holidays, we see that her mutual friends Louise and Carolyn had moved away during the autumn, that the return of her mutual and influential friend Emily was doubtful, and that the loss of her new close and influential friend Agnes was imminent. Clearly she would need some more friends. Rhoda recognized this, and in her letter to the teacher during the holidays she wrote, "Patricia is going to be my best friend now since Agnes has moved. I hope she will have me." This was a perfectly straightforward declaration of a planned relationship, to be sought actively in order to meet a felt need.

But Rhoda evidenced social competence that went far beyond planning the choice of a new best friend. More or less consciously she also felt the need to belong, to be part of a group that had a "we" feeling. She seemed intuitively to sense that, in the absence of the former key personalities, Emily and Agnes, the girls somehow would have to be organized in order to re-establish this "we" feeling, and she seemed to accept the responsibility for accomplishing it. At this moment Rhoda chanced on the idea of the junior commandos in a funny sheet and immediately applied and developed the idea in relation to her own class. She apparently recognized that she herself would become the key figure in accomplishing this reorganization and so she chose Patricia as her best helper, for she said in her letter to the teacher, "I hope Patricia and I can get this started."

The plan for the junior commandos showed sound appraisal of the status relationships among the children and of the attitudes toward herself of the ones whom she chose for key positions. Patricia had been both popular and capable in the classroom and on the playground. Ronny was one of the older boys and in a strong position in the only well knit boys' clique. These two were to be the "Genreals"—the "highest offoicers" with the

most imposing titles. Jimmie, the most popular boy in the class on the sociometric tests, was selected as "Commander . . . to take care of that left right stuff." Hannah, recently a close friend of Agnes, and Lurline, who had been an active member of former ingroup B, and who had made friendly overtures to Rhoda during the autumn, were selected as "Conals" and were assured "as much honor as the highest officer." Neither of these girls had shown herself as competent as Patricia, so far as we can judge from the anecdotes. "All who wish to join" graciously were invited to become members and were accorded the privilege of wearing arm bands, of marching, and of saluting the officers. All members, including the "Conals" were to receive written orders from the "secretary"—Rhoda herself. It is interesting that Rhoda chose such a modest and unmilitary title for herself, the originator and precipitating agent of this plan for organizing the group. "I hope the class will let me and will not mind," she wrote.

Space is lacking fully to analyze the extent of Rhoda's recognition of the factors to be taken into consideration in organizing the group for this enterprise and in appealing to various motives among her classmates. But this recognition was certainly implied by such details as the desk for the "Generals," the dignity attained by meeting in the classroom, the communication of the plan to the teacher in advance, the schoolwide prestige that might accrue from the arm bands and from public drilling on the playground, and Rhoda's own solemn pledge to "be on the job until death depart." A few of these elements may have been found in the funny paper, but most of them clearly were developed in relation to this particular situation. The whole scheme shows a degree of understanding, or sensitiveness to social process that few persons attribute to fourth graders. Despite this marked competence in social matters, it is to be noted that Rhoda, up to this time, had not achieved a position higher than third in the status hierarchy of the class. This suggests that Emily and Agnes also were very sensitive to social realities though their behavior differed greatly from Rhoda's forthright and direct action. The point is that the child society of a class-

room is a very real thing, its processes and relationships are very important to the children concerned, and its operation is a tremendously educative factor in the development of children.

One additional matter requires comment. Emily and Agnes were both back in the class when school opened in January and Rhoda's plan, assuming their absence, had made no provision for them. She must have wondered what to do about this situation. Perhaps she was preoccupied with this problem when she attracted the surprised attention of the children by appearing to ignore Agnes while the rest were excitedly exclaiming over the fact that Agnes had not moved. At this time the children knew nothing of the junior commando plan. Rhoda found an adequate answer to her problem, however. When she explained her plan to the class a day or so later she did the only socially astute thing under the circumstances. She chose Emily and Agnes to assist her with the secretary's duties, the issuing of written orders to all officers and members. The three of them began their work by jointly collecting money for the arm bands and so were immediately established as the triumvirate of group stimulation and organization. Perhaps the large number of valentines that Rhoda received later is evidence that her social understanding in this whole episode was very sound. As so often happens, the children themselves have supplied us with material of great value for clarifying our ideas of how they organize themselves and of how genuinely they know what is going on, whether or not they are able to put this understanding into words. They seem more often to "feel" rather than consciously to analyze the situation.

TEACHER GROWTH THROUGH SUCH STUDY OF GROUPS

We have had to devote two chapters to Miss D's observations because social interaction among children (as among adults) has so many ramifications. Of course this was only an exploratory investigation; it did not analyze all forces operating in the group nor make an adequate study of the motives of all children. Nevertheless, in order to indicate the scope of Miss D's work it was necessary to describe the dynamic structuring of the group,

how it changed as a result of the impact of events, what roles were played by a few key individuals, the personal needs and aspirations that underlay some of these roles, and how the conduct of the children reflected both the structuring of the class and the motivation that produced it.

These pictures of the workings of the child society in a classroom have both scientific and educational interest in themselves. They were presented in this report, however, primarily to illustrate the contribution made by this study of social interaction to the development of a classroom teacher. Through this means Miss D obtained new concepts of the meaning for children of their own conduct in school and new insight into what is involved in the educational process. She learned to notice many significant things in her pupils' actions which heretofore had escaped her attention. And she increased greatly her skill in writing descriptive anecdotes to record these patterns of behavior. She came to recognize the tremendous complexity of human motivation reflected in social interaction and learned to follow a thread of meaning through a whole sequence of events recorded in her journal. These learnings were so significant that we believe they deserve separate analysis and illustration.

Gaining new perspective

One of the chief values that accrued to Miss D from her study of the child society was her increased understanding of the significance for the children themselves of the social situations and events that occurred in the classroom and on the playground. For example, she discovered that the children's feelings and attitudes toward each other were active forces which actually resulted in the structuring of the class into cliques, fringers, and isolates. She came to recognize the different roles played by different individuals in shaping this child society and in functioning within it. She came to see that many of the most powerful motives of the girls in her class related to their roles in this society and that their success or failure in carrying out the roles they essayed gave rise to very strong pleasant or unpleasant

emotions. She discovered that participating in the processes of personal and clique interaction was very educative to individuals in both desirable and undesirable ways. She also learned that the character of the social structure of the class, and of the motives operating through it, had a marked influence on the effectiveness and learning outcomes of the more adult-valued scholastic activities. These insights, and the new concepts that made them possible, have greatly increased Miss D's effectiveness as a teacher and as a guide of developing children.

When this teacher made her first sociogram, she gained new perspectives from which to observe classroom situations and events. She had been used to watching children as individuals but when she became aware of the child society she no longer observed them in isolation. Instead, she began to see them as parts of a pattern of active relationships. She came to look upon individual pupils as clique members, as persons rejected by certain other children, as fringers, as isolates, or as the key persons of ingroups. As a result she saw things that she had never seen before when observing her class. For example, on January 14 she found it significant to record a letter in which fringer Mary declared to key-person Agnes that she did not like her. Miss D recognized that Mary's status situation made even unfavorable notice from Agnes more pleasing than no recognition at all. The whole series of anecdotes written during the winter and spring was greatly enriched by the inclusion of descriptions of interactions among children that had meaning chiefly in terms of these new perspectives.

Like most teachers in the study, Miss D often reported what children did in situations where she herself was participating, and what they said in class discussions or in direct conversation with her. This was true of her records made during the autumn with the fourth grade. But during the following winter and spring she added many direct quotations of spontaneous conversations among the children themselves. This added much of significance to her records because material of this sort is particularly revealing of the feelings of children toward each other, of their evaluations of each other and of the quality of the rela-

tionships among them. For example, there is the classic sequence of comments on February 9 that began when Lenora in an excited tone called out: "Where is Carolyn?" and Patricia replied, "There she is, Lenora. You worry about Carolyn all the time." Then in quick sequence, Tess is reported as saying to Lenora, "You do all the worrying, too. Carolyn never does any worrying about you." Hearing this the teacher wisely held her peace, but she commented in the anecdote that Tess was about right, and then went on to give Buddie's remark, "I guess if one of you'd die we'd have to have a double funeral." Still silent, she then reported hearing Patricia inquire, "Where is Lurline?" and Jimmie's rejoinder, "Well, Patricia, I think you worry about Lurline as much as Lenora worries about Carolyn."

This definitive account of the children's own analysis of the relationships between their classmates, ending with Patricia covered with blushes, depended on noticing the conversation and consciously marking it as significant, or it would never have been recalled when the time came to write the record. But it also depended upon not interrupting the flow of interaction among the children and upon the existence of a relaxed and secure relationship between the teacher and the class as a whole. One taunt about their silliness, one sarcastic comment, or perhaps any comment at all from an adult, would have prevented them from speaking so unself-consciously and freely and might have killed this spontaneity in the teacher's presence for a long time. The same was true of the episode when the children chatted about their sweethearts. So we see that Miss D had learned how to be silent and to remain on the side lines while the children interacted with each other. It was a significant element in the development of her observational skill just as the recording of the complete conversations in the children's own words was an important element in the development of her skill in anecdote writing.

Learning to appreciate significant detail

Even during her second year in the child-study program Miss D's anecdotes caught but a part of the flavor of living children.

Her records of the six girls in the third grade failed to include many of the signs the children must have given of their feelings, emotions, intentions, and desires. But she made up for this once she began to explore the workings of the child society in her classroom. Her anecdotes then attained much greater descriptive power because she learned to include such significant details as monosyllabic responses, voice tone, facial expression, gesture, movements, and the nature of the physical contacts between children. All of these details are expressions of feelings and attitudes which are actively communicated to other children, who in turn react to them. For example, on January 4 when Rhoda did not notice Agnes, Hannah was reported as saying: "Rhoda, see who is here," and Rhoda was described as going on putting away her things with only an "uh-huh." During the same day three of the girls were reported as "holding onto Emily" from time to time and Lenora was recorded as calling her "hon." One can almost see these children communicating their joy at her return to Emily while Rhoda was puzzling out the solution to a social problem that involved the unexpected return of two leaders.

Another of these revealing episodes was recorded on March 23, when Emily was slow about reading and Henry said, "Go on, Emily." Miss D reported that Rena then said, "Emily will read in a minute," that Emily smiled, that the group returned the smile, and that Emily "didn't seem hurried again during the whole period." It was but a brief anecdote, yet by the mention of significant details the teacher was able to record how Emily felt, how the group felt about her, how they reassured her, and how she responded to their sympathetic and supporting attitude.

Miss D's growing sensitiveness to the significance of physical contacts between individuals is apparent in many anecdotes. An example is her description of Lenora's welcome to Carolyn when the latter returned to the class on January 22:

Lenora couldn't keep her mind on anything except Carolyn; neither could she keep her hands off Carolyn; they exchanged bracelets; Lenora tried on Carolyn's cap. As we went to the basement and to lunch, Lenora held Carolyn's hand, put her arm around her, etc. Lenora's face was wreathed in smiles.

This teacher gave an equally graphic description (in an anecdote written on January 29) of Lurline's call for affection and for reassurance by repeated physical contacts with the teacher herself.

Children's actions in a classroom are seldom the result of a single simple motive; more often a whole pattern of motives underlies the things they do. Miss D's records increasingly showed her recognition of this fact and increasingly included details that were indices of elements in this complex of motives. The desire for notice, for status, for prestige, for affection, for friendship, to inflict punishment, to humiliate, to exclude, and the like, were indicated more and more frequently in the anecdotes. She gradually became sensitive to the patterns of action that were the expression of these motivations and her anecdotes increasingly show them propelling the flow of interaction among the children in the classroom and on the playground. She also gave evidence of learning that some of these motives have their genesis from day to day in the immediate events and situations that occur, while others grow out of the life history of the individual and may be rooted in early childhood or even in infancy.

Perceiving complex combinations of factors

The later anecdotes show a marked increase in Miss D's ability to perceive and to record complex combinations of factors that were present in situations and that influenced the ensuing behavior. For example in reporting what happened on April 19, when Emily came to school in a dress like Lenora's, she noticed the general interpretation of the class that the dress must be Lenora's and the widespread joking and teasing that resulted. But she also recorded Agnes' nonparticipation in this teasing, her whispered conversations with Lurline, the latter's subsequent point-blank question to Emily and Emily's smile, answer, and relaxed unruffled demeanor. A great many factors, some of them quite subtle, were included in this anecdote.

The later anecdotes clearly show that Miss D was becoming aware of common threads of meaning that run through the behavior of children over a period of days and weeks. This is

evidenced by records containing long sequences all of which have a common element or theme. It is illustrated by the extensive series of anecdotes that depict Agnes' propensity for doing the "right" thing inconspicuously which nevertheless always brought her forcefully to the attention of the children or of adults. The record on the junior commando club is equally complete. It contains Rhoda's plan, submitted during the holidays, and the letter that accompanied it. Included too is the account of the places made for Agnes and Emily and the story of how the three of them went ahead to collect money for the arm bands. Other anecdotes, not reproduced in this report, traced farther the elaboration of the plan and gave an account of its operation for a brief period. This continuity of reporting required a sense of the significance of events, which operated to determine the selection of incidents to be recorded. It did not require any considerable lengthening of records or increased time spent in writing anecdotes.

FACTORS INFLUENCING THE STUDY OF GROUPS

We have seen that Miss D's study of social interaction among the girls in her classroom contributed greatly to her professional development. We conclude that a study of the structure and dynamics of classroom groups would be a valuable professional experience for a great many teachers, but we also must give a few words of caution.

It is important to notice that Miss D undertook to study the child society in her classroom only after two years of guided observation of individual children and of critically evaluated anecdote writing. We believe that her success with sociometric techniques and with social analysis depended greatly upon what she had learned during these preceding two years of child study and upon the direct help she received from a consultant. There is additional evidence upon this point. In the autumn of 1942 a good many teachers joined the child-study program for the first time. As building or community study groups were being formed just then, these newcomers were mixed in with the other teachers who already had been in the study for one or two years.

All of them undertook to give sociometric tests and to make sociograms. A great deal of confusion and anxiety resulted. The sociometric study of their classes, that challenged and interested the teachers with a year or more of experience in the program, proved to be too difficult for many of the newcomers. Even some of those who were experienced in the program, but did not receive direct help from the consultant, were bothered. A sociogram is necessarily complex, being a visual representation of the constellation of attitudes toward each other that are expressed by the individual children making up the class. Its interpretation involves figuring out how these attitudes are mediating the interaction among the children. And of course the complexity is compounded when one recognizes the fact that the relationships between the children are different according to the purposes for which the children are grouping themselves; that is, different sociograms are required to depict the relationships in terms of friendships, work-companion choices, and playfellow choices for active games out on the playground. No teacher should be asked to begin her direct study of children's behavior by working at a problem of this level of complexity. We infer that teachers should have one or two years of experience in writing descriptive anecdotes and in organizing and interpreting the information provided by these anecdotes before they undertake to make and interpret sociograms.

One further caution seems indicated. We question whether teachers should undertake sociometric tests of their classes unless they also are keeping anecdotal records about the children. There is always the danger that the visual symbolization of the data on a sociogram will convey to the teacher the idea of a fixed and certain scientific reality. We fear that a teacher may think: "This is it. This is the way my pupils feel about each other; this is the way my class is structured." Such a static interpretation of the data is most unsound and unreliable, as Miss D's class so well illustrated. A sociogram is a most effective starting point and signboard for launching a study of social dynamics in school groups. It can direct observation, suggest hypotheses, and open teachers' eyes to unrecognized social realities.

But it should be followed by the careful study of the child society through time. Good descriptive anecdotal records of the children's interaction are needed to confirm and to suggest alternatives to the interpretations initially made from the sociograms. Child societies change, develop, and evolve. They must be studied in terms of the motives of the individuals that enter into forming them, in terms of their effects upon the emotions, learning, and development of the children who are a part of them, and in terms of their gradual evolution toward the adult society of the coming generation.

This account of the procedures followed in studying the child society and the social interaction of the children in one classroom concludes our description of the various activities undertaken by the teachers in the child-study program. It was the latest procedure employed during the first three years of their cooperative attempt to increase their understanding of their pupils. As has been described, it made use of all the procedures that had been explored earlier in the study program. But it did not mark the termination of the program in this school system. The study is still going on, and there is a good prospect that additional effective procedures will be developed.

XI

Teachers and Administrators Evaluate the Study

BY REPRODUCING extensive excerpts from the teachers' own records and work materials we have tried to make it possible for the reader to evaluate each element in the child-study program for himself. But practical school people also will have been wondering what the participating teachers and administrators thought of the study. Did the persons who took part feel that they were learning much of significance about human development and behavior? Did they notice significant changes in their own attitudes toward children? Did they report that real changes in classroom procedures, in curricula, or in the guidance of individual children resulted from their deepened insights? Did school principals and supervisors notice significant changes in the work of individual teachers or in the responses of certain children to their experiences at school? This chapter will supply answers to the questions in the words of the teachers, principals, and supervisors themselves.

NATURE OF THE EVALUATION

Local administrators and group leaders sought evaluations of the study from all participants toward the end of each school year. The administrators used the evaluations as a partial basis for deciding whether or not to continue the study, and the leaders used them as guides for planning next steps.

The procedure was simple and direct. Classroom teachers, principals, and supervisors were asked to turn in written appraisals of the study program in terms of its worth to them. General statements were to be supported by specific instances

and illustrative anecdotes. The principals and supervisors also were asked to describe changes, attributable to the study, which they had noticed in the attitudes or classroom practice of the teachers with whom they worked. This brought an added perspective to bear upon the self-evaluations of the classroom teachers; it served both to check and to extend their statements.

Several facts should be borne in mind in reading the material. Most of the principals carried teaching responsibilities, made studies of individual children in their own rooms, and were members of the same study groups as their classroom teachers. This suggests that they had the same basis as the latter for estimating the effects of the program upon their own work with children and, therefore, that they should not be expected to show more significant individual insight or learning than their teacher colleagues. On the other hand, for some years these principals and supervisors had supplied leadership in cooperative planning and in experimental activities with new curricular materials and instructional procedures. Being used to working closely with the other teachers on this collaborative basis, these principals and supervisors were in a particularly favorable situation to describe the effects of the child-study program on such aspects of school life as the emotional climate of classrooms, teacher-child relationships, and teacher-parent rapport.

Two Representative Evaluations

Before analyzing the evaluations in detail to discover the specific results of the program, we shall reproduce the statements received from two classroom teachers. These are typical of the documents submitted and show the range and nature of the topics discussed. They also offer opportunity to compare representative evaluations made after one and after three years of study. The first was written by the teacher of an eight- and nine-year-old group at the end of the first year of the study:

By being a member of the child growth and development group I have grown in understanding children, and because of this I believe I am doing a better job in the classroom and I know I am happier while doing my job. I'd have got much from the study if

I'd got nothing more than this one fact—that all behavior is caused. As self-evident as it is to me now, I'd never before consciously thought that back of all behavior, both pleasant and unpleasant, there lie causes and from these causes we can solve or modify particular behavior.

This technique of looking for causes has given me much more patience, maybe because I rather get the feeling of a doctor trying to diagnose a patient in order to prescribe the proper medicine. The psychologist named to us seven kinds of medicine—ways of influencing children's behavior. There again I feel like a druggist and physician combined because I have all the fun of combining these in any proportion my understanding of the child guides me to try.

Last week, Bill wouldn't do his work, didn't enjoy entering into the games and play, fussed, and went around with a sullen expression. I talked to him, made him stay after school and do his work, tried to entice him into painting something about his mountain trip or about Indians (he really is talented) but no go. "I can't do it" was all I got. I wrote his mother a note. He told me he lost it. I called his mother on the telephone. When I asked her if Bill wasn't sick, she said he'd said he wasn't feeling good. She said she'd whip him and for me to paddle him at school when he just wouldn't do his work, that Bill just had to be forced sometimes. I asked her to let me try a day or two longer (doctor speaking then). Before this, I'd have put all pangs of conscience aside and said, "Well, Bill's mother said do it." I've glibly said, "They say you're admitting you're defeated and are using the last resource when you whip a child," but I didn't really believe it. Now I really believe corporal punishment is the last avenue of approach to influencing a child, and the one I want least to travel because it is the one way that has least influence.

To continue with Bill. The next day he looked miserable and made it seem that his work was the cause of all his unhappiness. About ten o'clock we thought Bill had the mumps. He dismissed it very nonchalantly by saying it was a bad tooth. Well the "doctor" teacher asked to see in his mouth, talked about it with him, and sympathized. Sympathy did the work where reasoning had failed. It was like magic. He started working. Now his arithmetic is fun and he likes everything he does. I really believe tomorrow he will paint the pink dogwood tree on G Street. I wonder just how thrilled a doctor can get over finding a cure for something really big! I have a nice "glowy" feeling inside when I look at Bill happy again in spite of the bad tooth, which can't be removed because the doctor fears it will cause a receding chin line.

The study has made me more conscious of individuals and has made me know my group better. I realize the importance of being acquainted with their parents and home background. This is not a new point of view, but through this study its importance has been emphasized and proved so many times. With little effort and time I go out of my way to make special occasions to try to get a comment from the very timid and quiet child. I've always tried to find something the poorly adjusted child could find pleasure in doing—especially in painting and writing. Our study has shown me the need to get at the causes and has widened my avenue of approach.

Notable in this evaluation are the clear-cut recognition of the principle that "behavior is caused" and the emergence of a strong professional orientation (analogy with physician). These factors apparently had served to make classroom work both more interesting and more deeply satisfying to this teacher. "I know I am happier," she wrote. Perhaps she can even be pardoned for appearing a bit romantic about her "glowy feeling inside" over the results of her new approach. At any rate we reproduced her evaluation because it emphasized the common and, in our opinion, most important outcomes of the early period of the study program: (1) the recognition that behavior is caused; (2) a developed interest in learning the causes that underlie the behavior of children in the classroom; (3) the realization that acquaintance with parents and home backgrounds and the direct observation of children are two of the best available sources of significant information; and (4) the fact that greater happiness in teaching accompanies this development of interest in understanding the individual child.

The second evaluation, quoted almost in full, was written by a teacher of ten-, eleven-, and twelve-year-old children, at the end of the third year of study.

I now realize that a child's behavior cannot be changed in a short while and that only a slight change may take place over a long period of time. When Arline stole the marbles out of the aquarium, I was not concerned with how should I punish her but with why did she take the marbles and how can I help her so that she will not steal in the future.

In order to help Orson, I had to find out something about his home life. Orson was always blaming and criticizing others. He

would never accept the blame for doing anything. It was somebody else who did the pushing; it was somebody else who put the paint on the rug or left the brush on the table. Often he interrupted the class to tell on somebody. After two visits to the home I realized why Orson attended to other people's business and why he would not accept the blame for his own wrongdoings. He is dominated at home by his mother. She likes to brag about how well Orson minds her. She doesn't allow Orson to play with other children after school and she stated that she didn't care whether he played with other children at school. From my child study I realized that Orson needed at least three things—to gain recognition some way other than by telling on people, to form some friendships, and to play with other boys.

My study has helped me to see that certain behavior traits or characteristics are peculiar to children of certain ages and growth stages and that I need not be alarmed over them. These habits have to be curbed and controlled and excess energy has to be directed into healthy channels, but children should be allowed to be children. Through child study I have become more understanding and sympathetic toward four boys who are entering the growth spurt. They are restless; they slump in their chairs while in the circle. One never keeps but two legs of his chair on the floor. Two often sit at their tables with their knees in their chairs. Only one likes the girls; the others do not like to be a girl's partner in rhythms and they never play with the girls on the playground. Changes in growth have affected their energy output and their social life also.

The study has affected my use of materials of instructions. In working with my group this year, I have observed many children who are experiencing conflicts of insecurity. Loud talking, interrupting the conversation of others, arguing, rebelling against authority, criticizing and blaming others are mechanisms which they have used to gain recognition. In helping these individuals, I have attempted to give each child a feeling of success in one activity or another, but at the same time I have tried to get him to face reality. Jack's rebellious attitude, shown on several occasions, was due to a feeling of inferiority. He can never excel in his subjects. He is in the lowest reading and spelling groups and he receives individual instruction in arithmetic. I feel that I have helped Jack by giving him an opportunity to excel in drawing and painting, in writing stories and poems (he dictates them to me) and in managing our ball games.

Not only in Jack's case but in working with the others, I have tried to give each child many opportunities to express his thoughts and feelings through writing, rhythms, art, and dramatic plays. I

have learned that healthy release of fear or excess energy can be gained through such activities. A child who has a certain fear may get release of this fear through painting pictures or dramatic play.

This year I have recognized my opportunities for helping children to become better adjusted socially on the playground. I see now why it is important that children learn to play games well. They hate exclusions in any type of activity, but especially in games. After learning this fact in my child study, I observed my group more carefully at play. I noticed that Jeff and Bob seldom played ball with the boys. I found out that the others did not want them on their sides because they always made an out. I talked with the boys. Why couldn't we teach Jeff and Bob to play better? Jack, the leader in all games, took them under his wing. Now Jeff and Bob join the others even though they aren't very good players.

Recently the boys were playing jump rope. Jeff and Wister could not run in; neither could they jump twice without missing. Laughter from the group made these two drop out of the game. Again I suggested that we teach these two boys how to jump rope. The teacher, onlookers, and the two learners had fun. As we were leaving the playground, Wister very proudly said to me, "I didn't think I could do it but I ran in and jumped four times without missing." I believe that Wister's learning to jump the rope meant as much as learning the ninth multiplication table.

I have made changes in my techniques of handling children. This one thought has helped me tremendously in handling behavior problems: if you want a child to stop doing something, furnish him with something better to do. Many times I have applied this principle to Matthew who is below average in mentality. When he became annoying to others around him (kicking under the table or jerking a child's notebook) I would suggest that he help me by sweeping the room or washing the locker doors. He always seemed to enjoy doing such work. Again when Benson got in an argument with a boy and continued to argue, I felt that the situation needed to be changed. I suggested that he go outside and pick up the papers. He returned calm and ready to work with the group. I have applied the above technique to the group also. A change to a story, a song, or a game has relieved boredom, restlessness, and confusion.

As a teacher, I feel that I have a great responsibility. Through child study I am realizing more and more that I must help a child to become adjusted and to be happy. Lately I saw a man who was a wreck, both physically and mentally. I thought, "You are a failure but others have also failed you." A year ago no such thought would have occurred to me.

We might paraphrase this individual's first paragraph and say that teachers' behavior, too, can be changed but gradually and that plans for helping them to appreciate children must therefore be long-term plans. The truth of this is illustrated by comparison of the two evaluative statements reproduced above. While the first teacher's learnings during one year of study were certainly fundamental and even profound, they actually brought her only to the starting point of genuine professional work with children. Much more learning had to occur before these excellent beginnings could be matured into fully effective educational practice. It is heartening, then, to see the further progress revealed in the education of the second teacher, written after three years in the study program. Notice the influence through time of the concepts that behavior is caused and that home and family play vital roles in determining what a child does. Arline's theft of marbles did not evoke moral horror that had to be laid by punishment, as it once might have; instead it was proposed that the cause of her behavior be learned and that she be dealt with so as to make stealing unnecessary to her. This teacher viewed Orson from the same perspective. When Orson caused endless trouble in class, she traced its cause back to home influences that could not immediately be altered, so she planned conditions and experiences for him at school to effect three changes which she believed would make this undesirable behavior unnecessary.

Her anecdotes imply that this teacher developed another fundamental concept through the child-study program—that much of a child's behavior grows naturally out of his attempts to accomplish his developmental tasks, and that it will become acceptable and adjustive if situations appropriate to his maturity level permit him to work through his problems. She wrote that "certain characteristics are peculiar to children of certain . . . growth stages" and inferred that she "need not be alarmed over them." Recognizing that some "habits have to be curbed," she nevertheless contended that "children should be allowed to be children." What a revolution would come about in American education if everyone responsible for its policies and prac-

tice really believed this and had an accurate knowledge of the developmental tasks that are associated with various phases of the growth pattern. The four boys just entering their pubescent spurt were lucky to be with this teacher.

It is significant, too, that this teacher saw such a variety of behavior as growing out of "insecurity." Loud talking, interrupting the conversations of others, rebelling against authority, criticizing and blaming others, all were seen as mechanisms by which insecure children sought to maintain their self-respect in the face of imminent failure. This is indeed a far cry from the common practice of regarding such actions as small social crimes. While she did not condone them she saw their meaning and implied that her countermeasures would take their causes into consideration. Notice, too, that this teacher handled the materials of instruction differently from child to child to give them recognition, a sense of personal worth, an accurate view of reality, the opportunity to use free energy, or relief from fear, according to individual need.

Equally significant is this teacher's sensitivity to the role of social interaction and of group belonging in the development of children. Notice that play supervision became the opportunity for most valuable teaching; that the curriculum underwent a significant extension for her, with happy results for Jeff, Bob, and Wister. Many teachers know and use the technique of stopping disturbing behavior by diverting children into other activities, but too often it remains only a technique. This teacher, however, gave evidence of using this technique with especial success because she also was able to understand the reasons for the undesirable behavior. Techniques for her became more than clever means of controlling behavior; they were used to implement policy based upon sound analysis of motivation.

Finally, we must applaud the effect of the child-study program upon this teacher's operating philosophy of education. She reported feeling "great responsibility . . . to help a child to become adjusted and to be happy"; the anecdotes supplied in the evaluation attest to the genuineness of her devotion to this purpose. This is in marked contrast to the professional purposes cited in

Chapter I as characteristic of the teachers before the study began. Subject matter, skill learning, and control of behavior have taken their proper places as contributory to development, adjustment, and happiness. No longer the primary aims of education, they should not be sought for themselves alone or without regard for the effects that the situations and methods used to accomplish them may have upon the child's sense of adequacy and personal worth, upon his belongingness in the group, or upon his security in relation to teacher or parent.

Of course no pretense is made that all teachers in the study program achieved the same depth of insight and the same extensiveness of application from the work as the teacher being discussed. On the other hand, her evaluation was not selected as the best; rather, it was chosen as typical and because of its admixture of general statements and anecdotes.

ANALYSIS OF EVALUATIVE STATEMENTS

We have not undertaken a quantitative analysis of the evaluative statements turned in by the classroom teachers, principals, and supervisors. Instead we have classified the learnings reported into four large categories, have broken down these categories into a series of significant topics and shall reproduce short excerpts to illustrate each topic. By this means we hope to communicate the feelings participants had toward the study as well as information about the actual changes that occurred in their concepts, attitudes, skills, and ways of dealing with children and their parents.

As was to be expected, the evaluations showed that certain concepts were gained by nearly everyone while other important ideas were grasped by only a few. The same was true of changes in attitudes and of modifications in the use of instructional materials and procedures. No one teacher has learned everything described in these excerpts, but each of the changes mentioned has actively affected the personality and behavior of from one to a hundred teachers in this system. The ferment is at work and may be expected to spread more widely throughout the whole staff.

The idea that all behavior is caused spread generally through the teachers in the study groups and appears over and over again in their evaluations. It seemed to furnish a strong reason for observing and getting facts about individual children, and for learning the scientific generalizations that explain how various combinations of factors lead to certain patterns of behavior. Closely associated with this conception went a recognition of the fact that each child is different and must be studied as an individual in order to understand why he behaves as he does. With the development of these ideas the teachers' attitudes toward individual boys and girls also underwent a marked change.

Each child is different

The excerpts which follow show how the recognition of individual differences came to have functional significance for the members of the study groups. They also indicate something of the range and kinds of difference that these teachers came to count as significant.

This continued study of the child helps me to understand some of the whys that are back of this idea—why children are different, why they have different problems, why these problems have different causes, and why corrective methods are different depending on the individual and the total situation. As a result of this continued study, I am more aware of the fact that each child is an individual and must be accepted as such.

In studying the behavior of children this year, I have been able to recognize more surface behavior that was indicative of a "deep-seated" or basic trouble. Mason, for example, demands a place of leadership at school and has numerous temper tantrums. For most of his life he has been the only boy at home and has been showered with attention. He employs many, many "attention getting" devices and stunts in the classroom and is a constant bother; yet he is the most popular child in the room. He does this to offset a bigger worry—as he puts it, "no muscle, not growing up." I have been more alert this year to big problems which were made known to me by small incidents of this kind.

When the year began I was at once introduced to my friends Dan, Benny, and Fulton. Benny did not seem at first to be a teacher problem, but he did stand out from the group in some peculiar way.

Dan, I was sure, would furnish what Dr. Plant called, "the unrest for the corner of the eye." As for Fulton I thought he was conspicuous for his listlessness and his expressionless face. However, my attitude toward them was not exactly good because I felt that the group was all-important, all must conform to group standards and attitudes. I did not begin immediately to study them as individual children.

When the study group began, I saw how important it was to observe individual behavior. I came to sympathize with Benny when I saw the responsibility he carries in the home. I found among other things that he is the one on whom younger brothers and sisters lean for affection and that his parents are too busy to give Benny his share of it. So I helped him to some degree to feel secure at school. In these and many other ways I came to know and understand Benny.

I saw that Fulton was underfed and was poisoned with bad tonsils. I found by visiting in the home that his family could not get proper food and clothing for Fulton. Neither could they get proper medical attention. Fulton moved before I could make further plans to relieve his immediate needs. I am sure that the brief account which I made on Fulton's behavior helped me to an awareness of his physical handicaps.

Dan I do not completely understand yet, but by observing his behavior and keeping a detailed record I have been helped in dealing with him. The discussion on nervous habits which we heard during the year makes me believe that Dan has some condition which constantly causes his extreme unrest, his loud voice, perpetual motion and thoughtlessness of others in the group. I have been talking with his mother and am beginning to find some interesting data concerning his infancy. He had some serious operations while yet a baby. I plan to investigate further—learn more of those early experiences and the relationship of members of the family to Dan during his trying experiences.

By examining these three children more carefully, I naturally have been more observant of all individuals and I have developed a better feeling toward each personality in the group. I have been able to see, through this process of studying a few cases, how much alike, yet how very individual, each single personality in my group can be.

I became better acquainted with Joe, the daydreamer, after I made some visits to see his goats. Formerly I had been worried about him. He never seemed to hear or know what was going on. From discussions and readings on fantasy and daydreaming in my

child-study group, I became very interested in Joe's case. . . . Sometimes he would stand looking out the window—sometimes I would see him just moving his hand back and forth, again he would stand for a long time looking at the aquarium. Each time he would be completely absorbed in something—a bird hopping outside, the sunlight on his hand, the movements of the fish. Directions often have to be repeated for Joe and the group often has to wait for him to join them. His thoughts, when he shares them, are always interesting. Poor spelling and writing handicap him in recording his thoughts. He is very interested in living things about him. He always sees and collects more things on a trip than any other child. I am no longer bothered about Joe's inattention or daydreaming. It may even be considered "healthy." I am trying to understand more about Joe in other activities.

The knowledge of health, home life, early life, personal attitudes, etc., all contribute to my deeper understanding of a child and have caused me to write more fully of *everything* that I have found. To give fuller descriptions of situations and activities and to be more hesitant to explain, generalize, or "brand" a child without sufficient proof were emphasized in the psychologist's booklets and have had an influence on me as I have attempted to keep records.

The behavior journals which I have kept on a few children have given me an opportunity to evaluate my treatment and guidance of children in the light of the whole child as an individual who reacts favorably or unfavorably because of so many things in his physical, social, and mental make-up. Keeping the journals has strengthened my belief that I should never fight symptoms but always study causes of children's behavior.

I am beginning to see more and more the importance of studying a personality from many different angles in order to accomplish the greatest good for the child. To accomplish this a great deal more must be considered than just the present tense of the case. One must go back into the child's history from infancy, and if possible, even the prenatal conditions affecting his birth.

Many other things should also be considered when dealing with this child, which in other days would not have occurred to me as being important, but which now have taken on weight and meaning as bearing on the case. His home, family, environment, health, pre-school history, out-of-school activities, economic and social status in the community, church affiliation, past record in school, data

from other teachers, best friends, classroom relationships, contacts through various experiences, such as radio, reading, movies, newspapers, etc.—all of these and many more should enter as far as possible into the consideration of the child's whole personality. Just so far as we, as teachers, can find time and take time to look into these things, just so far will we progress in the thorough understanding of these youthful individuals committed to our care.

Stage of development influences behavior

Recent research has demonstrated that the new developmental tasks met by children during the pubescent phase of growth often temporarily disorganize some of the adult-inspired patterns of social behavior of children at school. It is most interesting to see how greatly the teachers in this study were reassured upon learning that this dramatic alteration during early adolescence actually is an aspect of development rather than a dangerous and stubborn refusal of the individual to do what is "right."

Carl was an ideal student at the beginning of school. He still was childlike in that he would always tell me goodbye and even put his arm around me. Suddenly I awoke to the fact that he had changed. As far as I know my attitude hadn't changed. He was growing physically. He would say sassy things and no longer went out of his way to do nice things. He has become a problem at times. Then at others he became the same sweet person. I have been able to understand him by having had a little study of similar situations.

Being a primary teacher as well as a principal, I have had the opportunity to watch the behavior of many children from childhood through preadolescent and adolescent ages. Since the child-study program started, I realize more than ever that because the behavior patterns in children are so different and causes of behavior so varied you have to deal with them at each age level in an entirely different way. Example: a girl in second grade, gifted, liked by all, a leader, cooperative, in other words an outstanding pupil; the same girl—fifth grade—gifted, does not make use of her talents, touchy, sensitive, rude at times, careless, nervous, inattentive, a shirker. I know now that if this girl is skillfully guided over her trying years, she will develop the fine traits she started out with. A boy, second grade—a cripple, bright, happy, talented, loved by teacher and group; same boy—sixth grade—impudent at times, sulky, sensitive, careless, rest-

less, inattentive. This boy, too, needs skillful guidance in an entirely different way from what he needed at the primary age level.

The reading and discussion concerning the cycles of growth and the different periods that boys and girls normally pass through have been very helpful. It makes you realize why some children are not happy and do not fit in with the group. Children who are slow or too fast passing through the cycles of growth cannot easily adjust themselves to certain groups. I find that true in the case of Herman and Dean; one has had a fast growth spurt and the other a very slow growth. Learning some of the things to expect boys and girls to do during their cycles has made it easier to know where to place them and to be more sympathetic with their conflicts. For this reason, discipline becomes easier each year.

Family situations influence children

A common fault in American schools is to ignore the fact that all children do not enter the classroom each day with equal readiness for learning. Rejected or neglected children, overprotected children, and jealous children carry home-derived pre-occupations to school with them. Other children worry over family quarrels or illnesses, are cowed by punishments received at home, or are simply tired out from home duties. The value of information learned through home visits and the advantages gained by working closely with parents were among the most frequently mentioned items in the teachers' evaluations.

The study of child growth has done another thing for me which I consider most valuable. It has stimulated an interest in studying home background, and has opened my eyes to home relationships and parental attitudes which I have never before felt quite so essential. The purpose of a visit to the home heretofore has been to inform the parents of the child's attitude in school and his progress or delinquency in certain subjects. I now find a fascination in interviewing parents, particularly when the information received from them throws light directly on the case and helps solve some problem concerning the child's behavior.

I have always thought that the home situation plays a very important part in the way a child acts in other situations. I am more convinced than ever that it has an outstanding effect on the behavior of the child. For instance, I have a child that hadn't been coming

to school regularly. When I visited the home to find out why he was absent so often, I found out that the father works at night and sleeps the greater part of the day. The mother, whose health isn't good, allows the child to stay out of school to help her. So far, I haven't been able to change the situation at home, but I feel that I have dealt more sympathetically with the child.

Having learned certain facts about children from the study and from observing them more sympathetically and intelligently, I believe I am better able to help "my parents" help their children. A week or so ago Mrs. M came in in tears over Clarence who is just beginning to cause her worry. The things Clarence does come under those things set up as characteristic of normal preadolescents. She did not know this and was of the opinion that Clarence was simply "doomed."

Social class influences behavior

The teachers in this school system, as previous chapters have shown, always have unconsciously recognized social class differences in dealing with their pupils. But, like most teachers elsewhere, the almost unconscious emotional valuing of middle-class children above lower-class children has made them too quick to reject and blame children from lower-class homes. Apparently the child-study program has done something to induce a more equitable recognition of the children's own standards and customs.

In some of our reports and in our reading I found that social classes and standards more deeply affect people than I knew. I remember we discussed the fact that we as teachers of one class, in working with some children of other classes, were guilty of trying to make sudden changes in standards and customs of living—customs that fit our own patterns. I had never thought of this before and I am now trying to understand what others believe and accept in the way of standards and customs. I am trying to be more careful of what I expect of children.

The child society influences behavior

Participants in the study program gradually came to see classrooms and playgrounds as arenas in which the complicated dynamics of acceptance and rejection, dominance and submis-

sion, rivalry, and clique formation mediate the interaction and roles of children. Knowing how important it is to all children to feel that they "belong" and are valued in all the groups in which they are thrown, the teachers became quite sensitive to the fact that children in the same classroom live in quite different social climates. As a consequence they began to consider their own roles in influencing the constant flow of feeling and interaction among their pupils.

This year, more than ever, I have been concerned with what children think of each other. And frankly many opinions held by the children were quite different from what the average adult would expect them to be. At the first of the year I described Velma as a "scatterbrain." Listless, always hitting someone, tripping, pulling hair, throwing paper on the floor. Likes boys but boys do not seem interested. Tries hard to be attractive. Runs wildly outside of the classroom. The term "scatterbrain" describes Velma. Yet during the year, when Velma had the opportunity she contributed many good ideas. Children arranged their hair like Velma's. They wore clothes like Velma's. They elected her as class representative to the student-planning group and made her drum major in the band rhythms. Velma's ideas were responsible for the rhythms. In the eyes of the children, she was "all right." Our progress as a class this year has been helped a great deal by my recognition of the children's opinions of one another.

The sociometric tests, besides being simply fascinating to work with, have been helpful to me in pointing out facts about my group. Some of these facts I already knew. For instance, I knew that Les was perhaps the most liked boy in the group. The sociometric tests in September and December indicated that I was right. Likewise I felt that Bagwell and Sammy had fewer friends than the other children. The sociometric tests confirmed this belief. On the other hand, I had opinions about some members of the group which were proved wrong by the sociometric tests. Patricia is an example of this. I was greatly surprised that she had so few friends. I was greatly surprised, on the other hand, that Lenora had as many friends as the tests showed her to have.

Because I was thus better able to see my group as being interrelated, I have been able to keep records which show a little of this interrelationship. I was better able to see the causes of some be-

havior. To realize that five girls make up an ingroup brings an awareness that when I deal with one of those I also deal with the other four. Before this year I would have felt that an individual's behavior was his own; now I realize that it may be his own but is more likely to involve that of others. The one child who is misbehaving may be a scapegoat for the feelings of others. The one child may be dealt with but when I have dealt with him I still have the group problem and my own problem to deal with. The child's behavior or my reaction to it may have left its traces on the group spirit in the classroom. One child's behavior may be an expression of the problem trends of other members of the group. Another child's behavior may seem odd for him, in the light of his own case history, but make good sense as a part of the group pattern.

Changed attitudes toward problem behavior

One of the striking features both of the self-evaluations and of the principals' appraisals of classroom teachers was an indicated change of attitude toward "problem behavior." Most mental hygienists will applaud the changes indicated by the following excerpts from principals' statements.

A teacher recently said to me: "We consider behavior that annoys us very harmful. I placed whispering, restlessness, profanity, and rudeness at the head of my list of undesirable types of behavior. My studies have shown me that unsocialness, unhappiness, sullenness, shyness, and bullying are more detrimental than those I considered very harmful. The causes of these forms of behavior are hard to detect and are often overlooked because they are the child's own problems. They are worrying him and may cause him untold misery in future years."

A teacher of a primary grade chose as her case study, Burley, a boy who showed up as a star of attraction on her sociometric test. While discussing him, she remarked that he was such an ideal boy she had difficulty in finding anything about which to write . . . she was failing to realize two things: that behavior of any sort is significant and that passive behavior in a nine-year-old boy is often more serious than aggressive. She told of a visit into the home and said that so far as she could see his home life was ideal. He was very polite and quiet while she was there. She remarked that he had pets and toys aplenty, but she didn't think to ask if he had any nearby playmates. It so happened that he hadn't. His classroom work was

splendid and the children liked him. He never did anything to annoy her or others in the group.

Normal child behavior was then discussed in our group meetings and she read several books. Some time later the head milk monitor reported that some of the grade monitors were causing a disturbance in the hall when they came for their milk. She said, "Burley started a bad game. Every time a monitor stoops over to fill his basket with bottles, Burley gives him a stiff slap on his hips. This has been taken up by others to the point it has become a problem. When I discussed this with his teacher she said, 'Fine. I'm so glad he's beginning to be a normal boy. I've changed my opinion about him and I want to see him acting like boys of that age instead of being so perfect.' "

Changed attitudes toward individual children

Principals also stressed the fact that the study program had resulted in a more friendly and sympathetic attitude on the part of teachers toward individual children. This is illustrated by the two excerpts that follow. The first recounts a touching episode in which the teacher became aware of the reason behind a boy's behavior a little too late to avoid wounding him a bit.

Spencer asked to get off at twelve o'clock to tell his father, who was leaving for the Army, goodbye. He was told that he might go. When the principal walked into the room he came up and asked again. Teacher realized when it was too late that Spencer asked again just because he was so anxious for her to tell the principal that his father was leaving for the Army. That was such a big event in his life.

Teacher realized that it was a lost opportunity—she felt as though she had knocked something out of the child when she answered him so curtly, but she was immediately conscious of it. If this study hadn't been going on teacher probably would not have become conscious of the child's anxiety. Teachers are becoming more and more conscious that the little instances that come up are even more important than the dramatic ones. In this there is growth.

There was a boy in our school who was a real problem. He moved away. Most teachers would probably have said, "What a relief!" But not his teacher. With genuine regret in her voice she said, "I am so sorry that Marshall has gone for I feel that I was helping him to become adjusted and I so wanted to go on with him." I would say that our work in child growth and development has done more

than anything else to make happier, more harmonious groups. Attention now is truly child centered and not subject-matter centered.

Little comment is needed to summarize this section on the changes in concepts and attitudes that were revealed by the evaluations. The excerpts have shown clearly that, when the teachers realized that all behavior is caused and that every child is different, they began to look for the specific reasons for the behavior of individual pupils. This quest led them in turn to form additional generalized concepts about some of the factors that operate differentially to influence the development and behavior of children. A child's health, his rate of growth and stage of development, his family situation and relationships, his social class and cultural background, and his status and role in the child society increasingly became factors of concern to the teachers as they formed concepts about ways in which these aspects of life were influencing individual personalities. With the maturing of these concepts it was inevitable that the teachers' attitudes toward problem behavior and toward individual children would change. The evaluations turned in by both teachers and principals certainly demonstrated that this was true.

NEW WAYS OF DEALING WITH CHILDREN

The reader will of course expect that there resulted many changes in classroom procedure and in methods of handling individual children. New insight such as that just described should logically bring about more satisfactory relations between teachers and pupils. He has already had evidence to the effect that such was the case. The evaluative statements provided further testimony, supported by many specific instances, to indicate that the teachers themselves were fully aware of what they had learned.

Adapting the school to the child

Because children are instructed in groups and because the curriculum is designed to help them learn what the culture expects of them, the school unavoidably demands a great deal of adjustment and adaptation to its standards from every child.

But sometimes these demands are greater than an individual can meet and the effect of the school is to maladjust and even to damage him as a person. Too seldom is the alternative considered of adapting the school somewhat to the child; for it is actually possible for most schools to be far more flexible in their approach to individual pupils than is usual in current practice. The following excerpts from the statements of classroom teachers and principals offer excellent corroboration of this.

Many teachers are attempting to fit the curriculum to individual needs. They are learning to work with small groups of children and are no longer requiring all children within a grade to fulfill standard required tasks. One teacher said to me not long since, "I am more pleased with my work since I have smaller groupings. I am now able to help each individual to do the things he needs most to do. He does not have to do what someone else needs to do."

I believe more thought has been given to making the curriculum fit the needs of the child rather than making the child fit the curriculum. In September, Benny, a six-year-old, entered first grade. Although he was chronologically the age of others in the group, in maturity he seemed much younger. In comparison to Jeanne he seemed almost a baby. Anything pertaining to skills, apparently much enjoyed by others in the group, was a task for him. He chewed on books, pencils, and paper. He could not remember to wear his coat home. He played with blocks and seemed to enjoy coloring with crayons. Once he said to teacher, "Make Matthew let me color just one picture in his book." During play period he was quite active, entering into games at times with children. His teacher watched him closely but did not require him to do reading, writing, numbers . . . that seemed too much of a task to him. He has shown much interest recently in a school garden, likes to go to it, talks about it; plays games with group, laughs when telling experiences. Teacher feels that he is a leader socially.

This teacher says that a few years ago she would have made herself and the child miserable by trying to teach him the required amount of work in skills that she felt every first-grade child should know. Now she realizes that making choices, adjusting to the group, and facing situations are growth also. For learning takes place when we act on our own thinking. Teacher is planning to promote him as she feels that he will read readily when he reaches that stage of maturity and feels the need for reading. She agrees with the writer

who said, "Perhaps we learn to read best when we use reading to serve our ends."

I have changed techniques because of individuals. Gretchen finds arithmetic very difficult. On a visit to her home she told me that she always hated to ask for help. She never asks for help. Now I ask her from time to time if she needs help and if she does, she says so. This change, as small as it is, came only after a close day-by-day study of Gretchen.

I have removed a great many problems in the classroom by finding a place for the maladjusted child, as in the case of Gately, a boy in the first grade, a very unhappy little fellow who did many annoying tricks such as tearing or marking on the other children's papers. I found the reason for this was his own deficiency in writing. The treatment was not punishment but giving him the special job of keeping the board washed and the bookcases in order. He became so proud of his job that he forgot to aggravate the other children. And by working with him in extra periods I taught him to write well enough to take pride in his own papers. When he ceased annoying, the children gradually accepted him. I haven't heard, "Mamma said not to let me sit by Gately" for a long time.

Although very little has been done with the actual improvement of personalities, I feel I am well on the way in that I am recognizing more and more types of behavior typical of preadolescence. Consequently I am overlooking much so-called misbehavior that heretofore I have made issues of. There was a time when playing with strings, rubber bands, and pencils was definite evidence that the youngster was getting nothing from a discussion and furthermore was depriving other children in the room of obtaining knowledge. Sometimes these things do show lack of interest and are the child's method of making this fact known to the teacher. On the other hand it has been proved from my own experience that children who insist upon "fingering things" oftentimes get more from a discussion than children who never make themselves conspicuous. I became aware of this fact in giving tests at the end of discussions. Nelson, Bill, and Wesley whom I have found guilty of "fingering things" have consistently handed in papers with correct answers, showing me that they have grasped the information talked about.

One boy came to me this year with the reputation of being lazy and always causing trouble. I discovered that he was quite interested

in science, along with many others of the group. I secured all the material I could and we have made many experiments. This boy usually helps with the experiments and takes a great pride in them. His interest in other classroom activities has increased and his whole attitude has changed. I feel sure this is responsible for it in a large measure. He saw that I was interested in him and he has put forth effort.

Reclassifying children

The practice of requiring "grade-level accomplishment" as the basis for promotion holds many children back from moving through school with their peers in terms of physical and social maturity and forces them into groups at very different levels of development. Others, because they show academic competence, are promoted so rapidly that they find themselves in groups that are much more mature and so are handicapped in learning how to get along with people. Still others get caught in class groups that reject them and are denied the opportunities for social development that come with belonging. The child-study program apparently helped to break this lock-step arrangement, as is attested by the excerpts that follow.

After hearing the talk on the physical growth cycle, we realize more than ever the glaring mistakes we have made in retaining children or in pushing them into social groupings for which they were not ready. Miss Y had been a stickler for mastery of tool subjects before promotion took place. She worried about Holmes, an oversized boy who was also slow mentally. Besides, he was somewhat of a bully in the classroom and was constantly keeping others, the teacher included, in hot water. Recently she said to me, "Holmes is so much bigger than the other second graders. He looks at others and feels he's lots bigger, too. I notice he always plays with the fourth graders on the school ground. From what I've been reading, I'm beginning to realize he is with the wrong group. Let's talk about him and decide whether he should jump one or two grades. I really do want to do what's best for him."

This happened recently in my own room and I do not believe I would have taken these steps if we had not talked so much about the development of the child. Loran, an overgrown boy of twelve, was rather dissatisfied in his school work. He was really the brightest

boy in the room after he had become used to our ways. He had not been in our school last year. Yet he never seemed to be completely happy. Some mornings happy and gay; then other mornings he would frown and be very cross with the other children. We began to wonder why. In March, after careful study and group discussion, it was decided that sending him to the fifth grade might be a wise move, as he would be better adjusted according to his developmental age and ability. This has proved to be the solution.

The study of child growth and development has enabled principals and teachers to see some of the dangers of not recognizing developmental growth periods of children. For some time the school system has been striving to get teachers to take into consideration social and emotional factors instead of academic ability alone. A few days ago a teacher said, "I see my mistake in keeping Alex back in the same grade this year. I had no idea at the beginning of the session that he would grow up and change so within a year. If I had only known then about plotting the physical growth of my children, I would have been able to see that Alex was already starting into his growth spurt and therefore would not have retained him." Similar instances have taken place with a dozen or more teachers within the past three years as a result of the study. Many teachers had been promoting certain children simply because they knew it was a policy of the school, whereas at heart they did not believe in it because they did not understand basic reasons.

In one group there was a girl who for several years had been having a difficult time with her group of classmates. The teacher as well as those preceding had made a special study of the case in order to know better how to help the girl to become more accepted by her classmates. Some causes were located and attempts were made to change the conditions, but to no avail. At length the situation became so unpleasant for the girl that a decision was made to transfer her to another fifth grade in the school. Here she is making a fresh start and is forming some friendships among the members of the new group.

There was a time when the two teachers involved would have allowed their own emotions to enter into any such arrangement. The teacher who had worked with the girl would have felt that she might be dubbed a failure, and the teacher to whom the girl was transferred would have feared that she was being made the goat by accepting the other teacher's pupil with a behavior problem. No such attitude existed. Both teachers saw that the girl was facing an

impossible situation. They believed that the change should be made both for the sake of the individual child and for the good of the group. Both accepted the change graciously.

Helping children with problems

When teachers understand the causes that underlie behavior they seem to cease blaming children whose conduct makes problems for them. When they also stop using punishment as retribution, as well as for re-education, it is extraordinary how often they are able to hit upon practical and constructive ways of getting children to change their "problem" habits. The excerpts reproduced below give but a few of the many specific illustrations supplied by this informal evaluation.

I have always been very sympathetic with children and have wanted them to be happy. I have always visited in their homes a great deal and have been interested in their home life. This feeling for children made me very lenient with them and, I thought, understanding. Now after my study in child development this year, I know that my understanding was just a softness in my heart for all children and not a genuine understanding. I am better able now to put the child, his personality, his home life, and my understanding together, and to build up a concept of the child that really helps me to balance his life for him.

Harriet's father and mother have separated within the last year. The mother has run away with another man, while the father is doing his best to keep his family of three girls together. Harriet was very quiet and unhappy; she began to take things. Formerly I would have felt sorry for her and tried to be very sweet to her. I probably would have stopped there. Now I feel that I have some understanding of her. She misses maternal affection and feels insecure. I allow her to stay with me after school hours often, try to show genuine affection for her, and to give her advice about her hair, clothes, or whatever I judge that she wants or needs. I have never let her know that I think she has stolen anything but we have had talks in the group about dishonesty. At first I gave Harriet errands (which did not involve money) to perform to show my trust and confidence in her. More recently I have given her errands that involve money. Not one time has she proved untrustworthy. If she has stolen anything in the last three months, I have not known about it. Although still a seemingly passive child she looks happier and is more friendly.

Before this year I was not so much concerned with the home life of the child and what the adults there think of him as I now am. Sidney was an example of a child who has been a baby for about seven years and now has a baby brother a year old. He talks about the baby and seems to love it, though he still considers himself the baby in the family group. His mother and I have talked about his place in the family group. I have passed on some of my child-study findings to her and I think she is trying to give him attention and at the same time make him more dependent on himself. He is actually very dependent on a sixth-grade sister who has always "waited on" him. If he forgets his milk he knows she will bring it. She brings his lunch on his day to serve. We have talked about this, and that since he is as big as he is, he is able to do things for himself. I asked him to bring his milk. It did not do any good. At last he and his sister and I had a talk and we decided that we would leave things to him. Since then he has rarely forgotten his milk, and when he did she did not bring it. In Sidney's case, I have thought that his home situation has had much to do with his failure to depend on himself at school and have taken time out to deal with it, in an attempt to give him at school what he has not been getting at home.

Harper's parents want him to be different from other children. Mother, particularly, had him tied to her apron strings. . . . In school he was quiet and tried to get his drill subjects and gave no trouble. But this teacher's study of children made her realize that it was her duty as a teacher to "de-babify" him in order that he might make friends with others and enjoy a normal, happy life.

The friendship test in September left him unchosen by any boys and only two girls. It also showed him reaching out to the two most popular boys in the room. The teacher seated him at the table with these boys and sent him with one or both of them on many errands. She asked Harper who writes beautifully, to help them with writing and for them to help him read, since they both read well and he is weak in this skill. This they all three did gladly. On the school-ground she suggested that Harper might be a good ball pitcher since he had an uncle who had played professional ball. They tried him out and found that he was quite good, so began having him pitch most of the time. Soon he was chosen for other games and persuaded by these two boys to join in.

Harper would never do rhythms. The teacher never insisted. Harper just sat. When the Virginia Reel was taught, Esther and Jack persuaded Harper to be Esther's partner (Esther had chosen him).

He was quite good and both teacher and children complimented him. The teacher devoted all rhythms classes for several weeks to dances and dancing games. Harper joined in each time with less persuasion from group. Now he is first on the floor for any rhythm, begs for rhythm period. He is a leader on the playground, playing as roughly as any other boy. In the last friendship test he was star of the group. His parents seldom come to school now. His mother says he scarcely ever tells her anything that is going on, and if she mentions coming he says, "Other parents aren't always up there," and he doesn't want his coming either. He "isn't a baby any more." He cries if she does come.

One morning just before school opened one of our small boys (first grade) had a knife. He got mad at another boy his age and slashed him across the wrist. It came near being a most serious accident. The teacher of the children talked to both children quietly; then she explained to them that she would get their parents, the principal, and they would all talk the situation over together. It was a very few minutes before the parents came. At the end of the conference there was no hard feeling between parents. The boys had a better understanding of the danger of knives; also when they could have them. The mother of the child who was cut took him to the doctor, the arm was bandaged and the child, by doctor's directions, was kept out of school for several days. Had it not been for the work we had been doing with children, I feel confident that the boy who did the cutting would have been severely punished; . . . and the most important part of all, the counseling together, parent, principal, teacher, and child, would have been neglected.

The most striking feature of this section on new ways of dealing with children is the readiness with which children can be helped if teachers understand their needs and are free to adapt the school to the child instead of requiring the child to make all of the adjustments. In the foregoing excerpts we have seen teachers cutting down on the academic demands made of immature children, finding ways of helping children who were shy, lazy, disturbing to other children, restless, aggravating, and uninterested. In each case adequate scholastic accomplishment ensued or appeared probable. In other cases we have seen teachers promoting children to provide for more wholesome social experiences with peers at the same developmental level,

to challenge unused abilities, and to give one a new chance to win friends and acceptance in a group.

The anecdotes showing teachers helping children whose behavior was inappropriate deserve more extensive comment. The one about Harriet, the girl who "took things," was especially telling from our point of view because many persons hold that any relaxing of blame and punishment in connection with stealing represents a "soft" and sentimental attitude toward wrongdoing that is socially dangerous. But this teacher reported that she was already "very lenient" toward children because of a "softness in my heart." She went on to say that the child-study program had given her "some understanding" of Harriet and that it prepared her to work out a program for dealing with this child over a period of many months, a program that was effective. Coupled with this understanding went a feeling of responsibility for the child, and this certainly led to more successful work with Harriet than either sentimental softness or righteous indignation could have done. The point is that a plan for dealing with problem behavior which is based upon understanding its causes permits the teacher to act neither sentimentally nor in blind retaliation for trouble. It requires responsible and open-eyed dealing with the actual causative factors that underlie the undesirable action. That this way of working yields large dividends in terms of their adjustment and further development was evidenced by the other anecdotes in this section.

CHANGES IN EMOTIONAL CLIMATE

Classroom teachers, principals, and supervisors were remarkably unanimous in their evaluations on one matter. Nearly all of them reported either that they themselves were happier in their work because they understood the children better, or they reported that the children were visibly happier in their classrooms than they had been before the study began. Apparently many of them in the past had felt "responsible" for any little misdemeanor one of their pupils might commit in the classroom or anywhere around the school; their study of the causes of behavior presumably eased the resulting anxiety. Accordingly they

were able to report more relaxed attitudes toward the children and greater happiness on the part of the children due to fewer inhibiting rules and more freedom for spontaneous conversation and activity. It is necessary to read a number of these evaluations in order to get the feel of the changed emotional climate of the schools.

Schools run more smoothly

It should be stressed that increased happiness is reported for both teachers and children. In the teachers this is associated with less tenseness and uncontrolled emotion in the classroom. Nor was this decrease dependent upon "studying" all of the pupils in a class; evidently the observation of one or two children to the point of "understanding" them gave the teachers the belief that children's behavior could be counted upon to follow recognized principles and was not the expression of mere whim or basic meanness. With such a view they could afford to relax. Relations with the children's parents improved, too.

I selected two children to study closely and to keep records on. This has helped me to know the children in my group so much better. In studying these two and in learning the causes of their behavior I was able to help the group more because I had learned how to help the two. I had learned also that some of the behavior which I had thought to be abnormal was normal behavior for children of that particular age. I am certain that the technique of keeping anecdotal records on one or two children has influenced my teaching for the better. I am less emotional in my dealings with children and I find that I examine my program and procedures in a more critical way than I did before I began to study the two children.

The homes of the community have been visited more often this year as the teachers have tried to learn more of the background of the children. These contacts with the parents have established a more harmonious relationship between parents and teachers, thereby reducing many "discipline" problems that have arisen in other years. At any rate complaints from parents have been almost nil this year.

This plan of making detailed studies of a few children has helped

me to complete a process of change which began when I first started to work with an "activity program." I still had some of the cobwebs of formal, dictatorial teaching. As I have pursued the few studies of children, I have realized more than ever the importance of individualized, informal teaching and learning. In short, I have been better able to relax, to enjoy personalities, and to be happier in my work. It was wonderful to have our attention shifted from teaching techniques to child study.

This year has been our best and easiest as far as problems between children and teachers, and children and school are concerned. It would be overestimating to say all this has been due to our child study, because I feel that there are two other factors which have played a very definite part in this. But I do feel that we have developed a much deeper and stronger understanding of children and that what they are feeling and thinking may be deeper than we as teachers are conscious of. This is shown daily by (1) more loyalty from the children, (2) more respect from the children, (3) more pride in trying to do the right things, (4) more tolerance on the part of children toward each other and the teachers, (5) more unity and closeness of teachers and children. Dealing with children as individuals and considering their wishes and needs have brought about these attitudes. Since the teachers have attained such attitudes a great number of problems just did not present themselves.

Increased friendliness

In the preceding section we showed that teachers actually helped children by adapting school demands to their abilities and needs instead of requiring their pupils to do all of the adjusting. This section supports the same conclusion and even goes beyond it by demonstrating that fewer disorders and disciplinary problems arise and that more friendliness and happiness result from efforts on the teacher's part to deal with each child on the basis of his need.

One of the teachers in our school who has long been known as one whose pupils were well prepared in reading, but sometimes at the expense of the emotional stability of the child, has come to realize that a feeling of security on the part of the child is of far more importance than being a fluent reader. As a consequence, not a parent has asked me this year to transfer her child to another classroom because of unhappiness. The teacher seems happier too and has asked to go on with her group another year.

I realize more and more that the children's happiness and mine depends greatly on the way I handle and link in the child's interest with instruction. For instance, small branches of bright leaves last fall gave Winston the feeling of doing something worthwhile and of belonging to the group. He can do little drill work, but he could bring in the loveliest autumn leaves, arrange them nicely, and give the extra ones to other teachers. He had a protected hillside where he could still find them in late December. When he brought these, arranged them, shared them, and wrote about them (he does not like to paint so got little satisfaction from that effort), he felt important and gave no trouble to the group or to me. When the leaves left, he wrote about the bare trees and missing the leaves and about the snows. Then the coming of spring and especially the robins gave him something to talk and write about. His interest right now is his baby nephew. I find that playing up to the child's interests makes him, the group, and me happier.

The study has helped teachers understand the basic needs of children. A new child came into one of the second-grade rooms a few months ago. "Three years ago I would have almost refused to have Pitts come into my room," said his teacher. "He was pale and undernourished. His clothes were ragged and filthy. His hands and face were grimy. Somehow my study of child development just challenged me to see what could be done for Pitts. I was able to get some clothes from a friend whose son had outgrown them. An extra portion of school lunch was given Pitts each day for several weeks, because I learned that he was coming to school without having had breakfast. Then in the classroom Pitts was given certain little tasks which he could vary and which seemed to give him genuine delight. Now that he has been in our room two months he seems like a changed boy entirely. His complexion has changed; he runs and plays on the grounds; he is accepted by the group; in fact, he feels he is meeting with some success."

My techniques of handling children have changed. I now put a different value on behavior. Things that I once believed so important are now overlooked and seem very trifling in comparison to the major problems of the socially unadjusted child. Knowing which problems are more important has kept me from keeping my children all upset over nothing. By understanding the normal behavior of children their age, I expect this behavior of them. By talking more to individuals instead of "preaching" to the group, I have created a better atmosphere in my room.

It has been my observation that in spite of many factors springing from the war situation which were expected to produce more emotional strain and result in more behavior problems in classrooms there has been no increase in the number of problems. Neither have the problems been any more serious than in former years. Children are coming from homes where fathers, brothers, uncles, and cousins have gone to war. Teachers and principals have tried to understand and to meet the need of children to live in a safe and sane world. They have put forth greater effort to make school a happier place to live—a place where one may relax comfortably and enjoy work which is fitted to one's individual needs, talents, and interests. Is it not possible that the child-study program has had a big part in making schools happier places for children to live?

More freedom and spontaneity

In this school system a broader concern with the total development of the child has led to much greater freedom of action for children in the classroom. For one thing it has confirmed an earlier trend toward giving children more responsibility for planning the details of their own work and for carrying out these plans as means of developing responsible citizenship. This necessitated more talking and more moving about in the classroom as the children practiced cooperative planning and activity. Indeed more self-direction everywhere in the school building and out on the playground has come to be recognized as favorable to learning how to get along with people, to respect the rights of others, and to play responsible social roles. In addition to this acceptance of the educative value of freer social interaction, has come a desire to avoid the earlier repressive ways of managing children which actually harmed the development of some of them. In the past many schools throughout the country have been so rigid in their conduct requirements that they have inhibited nearly all spontaneity and creativeness in boys and girls and have been hated as resembling jails. In this school system a systematic effort was made to change this, to make schools places where children could live and act in normal childish ways and be happy as they learn. The excerpts which

follow show that the study program reinforced these wholesome trends.

Teachers are more relaxed in their work with children. They are not as conscious of "keeping order" as they once were . . . many teachers realize that the degree of quietness achieved is not a criterion for a healthy classroom atmosphere. . . . There is in one of the schools a teacher who has a great deal of ability and skill in teaching, particularly in the creative arts. . . . Children fashioned many lovely articles, painted quantities of figures and other pieces, but all of this work was done in a classroom that was painfully quiet. Children rarely spoke to one another and always in a whisper. Relaxed, smiling faces were not seen in the room. Now after concentrating on a study of children for three years, this teacher has made quite a change in her classroom atmosphere. Children talk naturally and freely while they work. Smiles are in evidence and the tiptoe type of moving has vanished. There is a desirable climate of friendliness which is felt by a visitor as soon as he enters the room.

The practice of democratic principles seems more evident in some classrooms. A teacher remarked that in the past she knows that she was too dominant in regard to the appearance of the classroom. She kept it according to adult standards regardless of the thirty-five children who shared it with her. Now she lets them arrange pictures, have a definite part in planning placement of furniture, and in deciding other problems that arise. She feels that she and the children are much happier and that a more cooperative spirit exists among them. Life must be lived in contact with other people so it seems important that children establish a friendly and healthy relationship with each other and with the teacher.

One teacher no longer makes the entire group suffer by hearing an admonition that is directed at one or two children. She talks with them privately and feels that much more is accomplished. Another seems to realize the value of every child feeling that he is liked and respected by the group, and that he has a definite contribution to make. She does not choose pictures to arrange in a display that has been painted only by those who show signs of great talent. She provides opportunity for all to have equal chance to display their pictures. She does not expect them to measure up to adult standards.

In October a teacher and I were discussing an aggressive boy in her room. I knew his past history and asked her if she had had any

trouble with him. She answered, "I don't give him a chance." This was her attitude toward the entire classroom environment. She held such tight reins that the children were not allowed to be themselves and, as a result, she actually knew little about her group. So long as the outward appearance was what she fashioned it, she thought she was putting across a fine job of teaching. Her conception of teaching being that of developing mental abilities made this the ideal setup from her point of view. What was actually going on inside the children did not concern her so much. Her room was too quiet, too tense, and too lacking in that bubbling spirit which characterizes happy, normal children. The fact that a child needs a classroom in which he can develop socially, physically, emotionally, as well as mentally, meant little to her. As we have studied together, however, the atmosphere of her room has gradually changed. More freedom has been allowed, more self-direction encouraged, and a happier group of children is now developing more normally. And the teacher herself doesn't seem to feel that behavior problems are things of which to be ashamed.

At times when I have visited the school I have had occasion to speak with a teacher about some piece of work. A few years ago this was a painful situation which brought forth many admonitions from the teacher to the children as to how they should act while she was engaged in conversation with the supervisor. Now, if it is necessary for a discussion to be interrupted, children sit and talk with one another while the teacher and I do likewise. It is a much more natural situation.

The study has enabled principals and teachers to maintain emotional stability. Groups or individuals making noises in the halls, running up or down stairways, and taking things that did not belong to them, once caused tremendous emotional disturbance; now they are considered calmly in the light of understanding human behavior. Evidence of this is emphasized by a recent remark of a principal: "Children running through the halls or down the stairways used to drive me almost crazy. I felt that children could not come through the halls unless I was standing over them. Now I can just relax and let the entire school go to the auditorium or through the halls. In fact I sometimes wonder if the children are not much more calm and natural now because of the teachers' calmness."

This section on changes in the emotional climate of schools has shown that classrooms were conducted more smoothly, that

disciplinary problems were fewer, and that relationships with parents were more cordial as teachers grew in their appreciation of children and acted on the basis of their new insight. This was illustrated notably by the anecdotes which showed how children's interest in their work and happiness at school were increased when their teachers adapted their demands to known differences in ability, to special concerns and preoccupations, and to the particular needs of the individuals in question. But perhaps the greatest changes of this kind were indicated in those statements that described the greater freedom and spontaneity of action permitted by sympathetic teachers and principals to their pupils. A share in arranging the classroom, cooperative planning of the details of school activities, and freedom to talk and move around at will seemed to pay big dividends in terms of happiness to children and teachers alike. A friendlier atmosphere was reported as characterizing many of the classrooms under these circumstances.

APPRAISAL OF THE STUDY PROCEDURE

While the evaluative statements made by members of the child-study groups dealt primarily with the outcomes of the work, a few commented on the procedures used. For example, one teacher remarked on the keeping of anecdotal records:

Of course I have given special attention to the children whose behavior I recorded, but at the same time I have become keenly interested in the needs of each individual in the group. Undoubtedly, close observation of a few types of children is the most effective way to become sensitive to the actual needs of the group. The process of record keeping has not been so difficult as I expected it to be. At times I have jotted down brief notes in class or at the end of the day. I have recalled the behavior which I had observed concerning the two children and have made entries in my journals. If I forgot some piece of behavior I did not worry, for I knew there would be other occasions for observation. Since we were told not to spend time in correcting and polishing the accounts which we were making, I did not worry about the writing process.

We feel that this statement covers the opinion of a considerable majority of the classroom teachers, principals, and supervisors

who took part in the study program. It can therefore be regarded as an answer to many of the questions commonly asked by school people on hearing about the program for the first time.

One of the supervisors discussed the desirability of studying the same group of children over a period of two or three years and reported a comment made by a classroom teacher who had moved along with her class:

The study has also enabled principals and teachers to see the possibilities in working with a group of children over a long period, even several years. They now see how much there is to know about groups and individuals as well as how important it is to know it. A teacher said the other day, "I have a confession to make. Last September when I agreed to go up to the next grade and keep my same group of children, I was quite skeptical about the values as well as the results. Now I see how much more I have been able to do for the group and especially for certain individuals by virtue of my knowledge and understanding of them. I am sold."

This excerpt also speaks for itself. Another classroom teacher commented on the desirability and effects of continuing the child-study program through a period of years:

This third year of work in the field of child growth and development has meant more to me than either of the preceding years. The first year when practically everything I heard, read, or did was something new was a good year. I learned much but I failed to understand much. During the second year the study began to take on more meaning. Probably there were fewer absolutely new things, but all that came before took on added significance as I was better able to see the meaning underneath the behavior I observed, the facts I read, the lectures I heard. Still there was much that just did not become mine in the true sense. And so it is with this third year of study. Though this year has revealed more and more, though still other new things have come up for consideration, and though I feel a little more able to cope with situations in my classroom, I think I feel more inadequate than ever. This is *not* to say that I am dissatisfied with my study and experiences. It *is* to say that the more I learn about human behavior the more deeply I am impressed with how little I actually know.

This humility that comes with true knowledge is in marked contrast with the sureness many poorly trained teachers show as

they judge the behavior of their pupils and freely prescribe "what this child needs is"

SUMMARY

A quick glance back over this chapter will establish the fact that a series of important changes occurred in the teachers' way of thinking about children and about their own professional work. They came through the study program to recognize that behavior is caused. The fact that all children are different became real to them and they developed considerable ability in recognizing the nature and significance of these differences. The basic pattern of the growth cycle through which all children pass became known to these teachers, together with the implications for individual children of variations in the rate of maturation. The influence of family relationships upon the motivation and adjustment of children took on new meaning. The impact of the culture, including the influence of social status, upon developing personalities became better understood. The school itself came to be seen as an arena of important social interaction among children. Another significant change was in the teachers' attitude toward problem behavior. They began to blame children less for certain undesirable conduct and to strive vigorously to find means of changing this behavior instead of being content to rely on punishment to inhibit it.

Equally interesting were the new ways of dealing with children that developed. Classroom teachers and administrators began to find methods of adapting the school to children instead of requiring boys and girls to do all the adapting. Academic demands were fitted to children's abilities and developmental levels, children were reclassified or transferred to other classrooms to help them in their social adjustments, and many special ways of handling particular children were devised and used to eliminate undesirable patterns of behavior.

The effects of these changes in ideas and attitudes and of these new ways of dealing with children were described in terms of improved emotional climate in classrooms, of reduced strain and tension among teachers, and in terms of increased friendliness

between teachers and children and between teachers and parents. Both the school staff and the pupils were reported as being happier and as finding more satisfaction and significance in their work together. The schools ran more smoothly and were marked by greater freedom and spontaneity as well as by more effective cooperative planning and wider participation in carrying out plans.

All of this may sound too good to be true and the reader is warned again to remember that no single teacher reported all of these desirable results, and that in no school did all of the teachers profit equally from the program of child study. However, these were uncoached evaluations and we have to accept the fact that they were written by the classroom teachers, supervisors, and principals themselves. It follows that all of these results actually exist to some extent in this school system and are gradually permeating all of its life.

XII

Conducting a Program of Child Study

IN THE FIRST ten chapters of this report we tried to make it possible for the reader to look directly at children through the eyes of the teachers participating in the study program described. Naturally the perspective of the excerpts reproduced has varied from person to person for the teachers had different backgrounds of experience, different sensitivities, and different conceptions of their own professional responsibilities. Nevertheless we feel that the cumulated records, the accounts of study methods, and the many interpretations of child behavior and individual need present a general picture of increasing understanding and deepening insight on the part of the teachers. The evaluations of the program, made by the participants themselves and reported in the preceding chapter, supported this view and indicated that the teachers' new concepts and attitudes led to many changes in dealing with children and to widespread improvement in the emotional climate of classrooms.

This chapter will tell how the study program was managed. After a brief statement of background facts, it will describe how the experimental project was launched on a relatively small scale and gradually extended to include all of the professional personnel in this school system. Questions of policy that arose will be discussed and the considerations that influenced decisions will be stated. The mistakes that were made will be indicated and factors that influenced morale will be analyzed. Finally, attention will be given to the roles and training of local leaders. The object of the chapter is to make it possible for

school administrators to get a realistic view of what is involved in a program of this sort, to anticipate the problems that are likely to arise in connection with it, and to plan effective ways of helping their own teachers to improve their understanding of their pupils.

THE BACKGROUND

The school system described in this report was peculiarly ready to undertake a program of child study because of the principles that had guided its work for the past decade and because of the experiences accumulated during this period by the administrative and teaching staffs. These philosophical principles hold that children learn by doing. They posit that children are interested in understanding and participating in the activities going on around them in the community. They affirm that children become responsible, self-directing citizens of the larger community through years of practice at being responsible, self-directing participants in classroom and school communities. For a number of years before the Commission's work began this school system had been developing its curriculum experimentally and in accord with these principles. Units of work built around centers of interest relating to life in the community, region, and nation have been worked out to supply the meaningful core of a program of active experience and study. Construction, dramatic expression, painting and drawing, language use, discussion, self and group criticism, and regular practice of the fundamental skills of reading, writing, spelling, and arithmetic were daily features of the classroom work. Such an active program growing out of the children's own experiences in home and community gave each youngster an opportunity to contribute to a unit of work in terms of his own abilities and unique background of experience and so to feel himself a valued participant in a group undertaking. Each pupil thereby had the chance to learn the roles of a citizen in the classroom and to understand the necessary limitations that he must place on his own actions. It is not surprising, then, that most of the children thoroughly enjoyed going to school and felt the school a vital part of their daily lives.

During this period the teachers also had experimented with relaxing the earlier rigid, authoritarian, teacher control of classroom activities in favor of planning by the group as a whole. The children had learned to carry on their work by accepting responsibilities in committees and as individuals and, through group discussions, to evaluate their own accomplishments and shortcomings. This pupil participation had extended even to the decoration of the classrooms, the arrangement of furniture, and the distribution and use of books and supplies. As a result, both children and teachers had become happier in their day-to-day work together in the classrooms. This gradual and psychologically sound evolution of the curriculum and of classroom procedures also had made it easier to adapt demands made on individual pupils to their different capacities and abilities. However, this adjustment actually had been accomplished only in part, because the teachers still tended to think of each project as the responsibility of the whole group and as properly resulting in the same learnings and skill development by all members of the group.

This gradual evolution of curriculum and method had been accomplished by cooperative procedures. For years the teachers had been organized in grade-level groups that met regularly to discuss the materials, classroom organization, and activities related to each unit of work. In this way the teachers had learned to share ideas, to discuss common problems in a group, to give and accept criticism, to feel free to experiment, to evaluate their new ways and means, and to seek the help of principals, colleagues, and outside consultants. The teachers also had learned to play together, for recreational activities often preceded or followed these group discussions and there had been frequent picnics, cook-outs, and excursions to nearby scenic areas for groups of teachers.

This school system has always experienced an average or slightly higher than average teacher turnover. As the experimental program developed through the years and the teachers grew greatly in skill, it was natural that many of them received and accepted offers of positions in larger school systems. This

has required inducting a considerable number of new teachers into the system each year and training them on the job. Several interesting and valuable ways of accomplishing this have been evolved. New teachers have been assembled several weeks before the opening of school at camps in the mountains where they have learned about the educational program of the system and have come to know informally the administrators and supervisors who would work with them. One of the schools has been designated the demonstration center and regularly opened a week or so before the other schools. New teachers have observed the classroom work of the able teachers in this school and then have met with these teachers to discuss what they have seen and to plan their own work for the first weeks of school. Once the schools have been opened and the new teachers are at work, arrangements have been made for them to exchange visits with more seasoned colleagues so that all through their first year in the system teachers have had the opportunity to see the program operated effectively and to receive constructive suggestions about their own efforts to carry on similar activities. Finally, the director of the observation program has been responsible not only for coordinating this exchange of visits and for observing and assisting new teachers personally, but also for conducting a study group made up of the new teachers. In this she often has been aided by competent teachers who gave demonstrations or descriptions of units and activities that they were developing experimentally in their own classrooms.

One other matter deserves comment here. The administration has always desired to have the parents feel that the schools were an expression of the community's interest in and responsibility for the development and welfare of the children. So the schools have served to some extent as centers of community life where adults and children engaged together in activities of common interest. Add to this perspective the fact of limited financial resources and it is not surprising to find that many parents have helped the schools in uncounted practical ways over a period of years. For example many parents have helped to supply school lunches to needy children or as supplements to

lunches brought from home. Other parents have made necessary pieces of furniture or curtains for various classrooms. Hardly a week has passed in any school without some mother or father contributing something of direct value to its life and work. It has also been the policy of the schools that every classroom teacher should visit the home of each pupil as early as possible during each academic year. The natural result of following this policy over a period of years was that most parents had a lively and sympathetic interest in the school program and that their relations with the staff were cooperative and friendly to a degree unusual in the average American community.

Putting all these facts together one sees a school system that was used to experimentation, that was sensitive to the relationship between community life and children's interests, that had developed an excellent curriculum and modern educative procedures, that inducted its new teachers with unusual care, that had a sound program for the in-service development of its staff, and that had developed exceptionally good rapport between teachers and parents. It was therefore well prepared to undertake and carry on a program of direct child study because it was able to recognize the need for such a step and because administrators and teachers alike were skilled at working together experimentally.

Recognition of the need for a better understanding of children existed in this school system before the Commission on Teacher Education was established. At teachers' meetings, in study groups, and in conferences after the exchange of visits individuals often deplored their limitations in interpreting the conduct of some child or planning how to meet the problems presented by another. They recognized that certain children were restless and inattentive, that some were too quiet and withdrawn, and that others demanded too much attention from the teacher or from other children. They were troubled by occasional petty thefts, by truancy, by carelessness, by unexpected stubbornness at times, and now and then by fights between pupils. Some of them knew that certain children faced special problems at home and wanted help in neutralizing the effects of

such problems. Others were disturbed because they had difficulty in knitting their whole class into a smooth-working co-operative group. A few expressed the wish for the help of a psychiatrist or an expert in mental hygiene. In other words, while the classroom teachers and administrators had strong faith in the curriculum and methods they had developed through the years, they were alert to the fact that not all children were profiting fully from these educational opportunities and they sensed a need to understand their pupils better. The proposed intensive observation of boys and girls appealed to them as the necessary next step in the development of their ongoing program.

AFFILIATION WITH THE COOPERATIVE STUDY

The activities described in this report were part of the work done by this school system in connection with its participation in the cooperative study of teacher education sponsored by the Commission on Teacher Education of the American Council on Education. A major principle of this cooperative study was that participating units would begin by analyzing their own problems as the basis for planning what they would undertake to improve the professional competence of teachers—using the term to cover administrators and supervisors as well as classroom teachers. The Commission had no plans of its own to be executed locally. Rather, it pledged itself to aid in carrying out locally developed plans by whatever means its own resources permitted.

In order to explore the nature and range of the problems with which it would be concerned, and to stimulate analysis and planning in the participating institutions and school systems, the Commission organized a two-week conference at Bennington College in August 1939.¹ The assistant superintendent of this school system attended the conference and took part in its deliberations. Various matters pertaining to the pre-service and in-service education of teachers were analyzed, and ways in which

¹ See *Bennington Planning Conference for the Cooperative Study of Teacher Education: Reports and Addresses, August 21 to September 1, 1939* (Washington: American Council on Education, 1939).

the Commission might be of service were discussed. The assistant superintendent was particularly interested in the discussion of how teachers could be assisted to improve their understanding of children. He went over with the head of the Commission's division on child development and teacher personnel the resources of that division, and expressed the opinion that work in this area would constitute an important part of the effort to further the competence of teachers in the school system he represented.

Later in the autumn a field coordinator from the Commission's headquarters in Washington visited the school system and assisted in completing local plans for participation in the co-operative study. The earlier judgment of the assistant superintendent was confirmed and it was decided that major emphasis would be given to the attempt to help teachers increase their understanding of children. The field coordinator was requested to secure the services of a consultant from the division of child development and teacher personnel, and the planning of specific activities was begun. It was agreed that this psychologist-consultant would make an initial two-day visit to the community in the spring of 1940, and three additional visits during the school year of 1940-41.

When the consultant made his first visit he met with a representative group of the school personnel. This included representatives of each grade-level group of elementary teachers, all principals of elementary schools, the high school principal, a number of high school teachers, and the superintendent and assistant superintendent. Members of this gathering told of the problems they were facing with certain children and asked the questions with which we opened Chapter I of this volume. The psychologist explained that such behavior as petty stealing, punching and pinching other children, cheating, inattention, and the like were the result of many influences that differed from one child to another, that these influences often go back to very early times in the child's life, and that there are no general formulae or prescriptions for treating specific instances of such conduct. He indicated that it is necessary to study each

youngster carefully and to interpret his motives in terms of established psychological principles in order to find effective means for changing behavior. A number of possible approaches to this direct study of children were suggested. The group interest in studying human development was intensified as a result of this meeting but no actual plans for a program were formulated at that time.

Launching the study program

The director of the school system's observational program was selected by the superintendent to organize and lead the child-study program. In the meantime the Commission had decided to conduct a workshop in teacher education at the University of Chicago during the summer of 1940. Leaders from the several colleges, universities, and school systems in the cooperative study were invited to attend in order to perfect plans for the following year and to share their deliberations with each other and with the Commission's staff. The director of the observational program was selected as the one to go to this workshop and was asked to work out there tentative plans for launching the child-study program promptly at the beginning of 1940-41. She also was charged with getting whatever help she could toward revising the cumulative records being kept on each pupil and toward improving local methods of reporting pupil progress to parents. In addition she was asked to make a bibliography of recent books on human development and behavior for immediate addition to the professional library of the school system.

The workshop afforded this individual an opportunity for getting a quick overview of the principles that explain human growth and conduct, and for working with small groups of persons from other school systems who were planning child-study projects. She also had the chance to confer at length with the consultant who had visited the school system the preceding April and who would assist the working groups during the following year. Together they considered a number of alternative procedures for carrying out the local study. For example, there was the possibility of beginning with the questions asked

at the spring meeting. The study of stealing and cheating might lead to an investigation of the causes of such behavior which in turn might result in a study of the basic needs of children. Another possible approach was through the discussion of cumulative records—a live topic because many high school teachers were quite critical of the records they had been receiving. The high school teachers maintained that the folders included much nonessential material and lacked the information vital to an understanding of the children. Teachers in the upper elementary grades concurred and consequently there was widespread interest in the question of what a teacher should know about a child in order to work with him effectively.

The consultant and the local leader finally decided that it would be best to start the study with an analysis of cumulative records. The consultant led off by making a detailed critique of the entries on one boy's sheet for "conduct and attitudes," and the local leader used this analysis in preparing material for the teachers to study at the beginning of the school year. This material has been reproduced in Chapter II. It showed that the teachers had gone on from year to year putting down their personal judgments of the children but entering little significant information about their actual behavior. The decision was to have the work begin by asking the group to examine this material based on the psychologist's analysis. Next each participating teacher would analyze her own entries in the cumulative records of a number of children. Following this it was hoped that the teachers would be interested in improving their skill in valid record keeping by writing frequent anecdotes about one or two children selected for close observation. The initial plan did not go beyond this point because it was felt that the working group would see next steps for itself and would be able to plan the continuity of the study with the help of the local leader and the consultant.

The first child-study group was formed shortly after the beginning of the school year, in September 1940. Because the study was exploratory and experimental it was felt that the initial group should be kept small but that it should contain

representatives of all schools in the community. Elections were held in each building to choose one or two persons, from among those interested in participating, to represent that school in the study. Twenty-five classroom teachers and principals were elected in this way and they organized the first study group. They met each Wednesday night at the high school and the participants reported periodically on the nature of their work to the faculties whom they represented. Accordingly the total personnel of the school system shared to some extent in the work of the study group by discussing its ideas and procedures.

Extending the study program

These reports to building faculties whetted the interest of other teachers to such an extent that strong demands for admission to the study program were increasingly felt. Accordingly a second study group of twenty classroom teachers and principals was organized late in November 1940. While the work of the two groups was by no means identical, they followed essentially parallel lines throughout this first year. At the beginning of the second year of the study, in September 1941, the two working groups merged to form a single unit that continued to develop the child-study program. At this time a new group of twenty-two teachers likewise was organized and it undertook practically the same course of study and activity that had been developed the preceding year. Thus a total of over sixty classroom teachers and principals participated in the program during the first two years. They devoted themselves largely to learning how to write objective anecdotal records about one or two pupils, to accumulating these anecdotes into behavior journals on individuals, and to making a beginning at organizing and interpreting the information collected in this way.

With the opening of the third year of the study, September 1942, the administration of the school system, the leaders of the child-study program, and many of the leading spirits on the instructional staff felt that the project had proved its worth. They felt that it should be further extended to include most of the teachers in the school system and that it should be set up on

a somewhat different basis to effect maximum practical good. Accordingly it was decided to organize a number of building or area study groups and the principals were asked to canvass their staffs to find out the extent of their readiness for participation. In a number of cases two neighboring schools combined to form single study groups, with the result that six groups finally were formed in the elementary schools and one in the high school. Teachers who were new to the system formed an additional group which divided its work between child study and curriculum study. Persons who had been in the study program from the beginning became the leaders of the six elementary school groups; the program leader was in charge of the new-teacher group and also served the other groups as far as time permitted. A high school teacher, who had attended a workshop on human development and education at the University of Chicago during the summer of 1942, became the leader of the high school group.

At the beginning of the year the persons who were to lead these various groups met together to consider the means and methods by which their groups might carry on. As they looked ahead to the work of the year, they decided that the leaders should meet regularly in order to counsel together about the work of the various groups and in order to push ahead still further in their own study of human development and behavior. The director of the observational program had attended workshops on human development and education at the University of Chicago during the summers of 1941 and 1942, as well as the initial workshop on teacher education, and therefore was the most advanced student of human development on the staff or in the school system. She became the leader of this leadership group.

The advent of the war had increased greatly the responsibilities and activities of the teachers in this community; so it was decided to limit the child-study meetings in the various buildings to alternate weeks instead of holding them every week. The leadership group met on weeks when the building groups did not meet. In this manner the child-study program, launched originally with a group of twenty-five persons, was gradually extended to include 122 elementary teachers and principals and

about a dozen high school teachers during the third year of the study. By this time only about twenty-five elementary teachers were not involved in the study, but they too were included at the beginning of the fourth year. Consultant service was supplied by the Commission on Teacher Education throughout the first three years and has been continued since at the expense of the school system.

PRACTICAL PROBLEMS MET BY THE STUDY GROUPS

It will be recalled that initial plans dealt only with launching the program. From the beginning it was recognized that this was an exploratory and experimental study. It was decided that questions raised by the teachers themselves and the desires which they expressed should shape the development of the program. No initial hypotheses governed the work except the conviction that direct study of individual children would help to make meaningful the scientific knowledge of human development and behavior that these teachers already had, and that it would awaken in them an awareness of their need for more extensive knowledge of this sort.

The first study group began by examining and discussing the analysis of a page from one child's cumulative record. It will be remembered that this experience demonstrated to them that this child's teachers had recorded their own reactions to and judgments about the child, and that they had put down but little about the child himself. Then the teachers went back to the cumulative records that they themselves had written and discovered that they too had been recording judgments about children without much supporting evidence. This immediately raised the questions: What is a good anecdote? What should we have recorded about that child in order to describe him accurately to another teacher? The obvious next step was to write some anecdotes and to discuss their value. Nor was it difficult to persuade the group that this experiment would be more meaningful if they used available time to write these anecdotes about only one or two children so that the resulting accumulations through time would constitute stories of the development of these indi-

viduals during the school year. Here arose the first practical problem that called for decision: the teachers had to select one or two individuals from among a roomful of children.

Selecting children for intensive study

The teachers very naturally were specially interested in the children who presented serious problems to them so their initial choices tended toward such individuals. But the program leader and the consultant recognized certain dangers in focusing the study on children with severe problems. They knew that the teachers were much more sensitive to behavior that caused difficulties in the classroom, or that violated the mores, than to other behavior that indicated equally severe maladjustment. They did not wish the teachers to miss the implications of daydreaming, shyness, and withdrawing by studying only the more active disturbers. Still more important, the primary objective of the child-study program was to help teachers get a balanced view of what is involved in growing up in our society so that they would see that all children constantly face problems and can be helped greatly in solving them. It was feared that the study of acute problem behavior alone would habituate the teachers to looking for things that were wrong with a child, rather than direct their study to the conditions, the relationships, and the experiences that lead to wholesome development and effective behavior. These matters were discussed with the teachers and it finally was agreed that each would choose for study one child whose development apparently was proceeding smoothly and without difficulty and a second one, if she wished, who seemed to have something of a problem.

Three years of experience with child study have proven that this was a wise decision. A few of the teachers who chose children with acute problems, found that they could not fully understand the causes, and were discouraged that they could do so little to help. These children needed clinical study and expert therapeutic treatment which was not available. Many other teachers found that their original "normal" children ran into more or less difficult problems at some time or other in the course of

three years of growth and that many of the supposed "problem" children failed only momentarily, so to speak, to meet the demands imposed by school routines and tasks. So these teachers have learned to some extent to distinguish between continuing severe maladjustment and the temporary problems and emotional upsets that children commonly meet in the course of their development. Best of all, they have learned or are in the process of learning not to think of behavior as good or bad, as normal or problem behavior, but as the active effort of a developing child to deal with life as he meets it. They are beginning to see that behavior is caused or evoked by situations interpreted by each child in the light of his own unique experience background.

These teachers do not fancy themselves to be embryonic psychiatrists diagnosing and successfully treating pathology, but instead see themselves as professional educational workers who are learning to diagnose children's developmental tasks and to adjust school conditions and demands in the light of these tasks. They see themselves learning to establish rapport and needed relationships with the children, and discovering how to bring about experiences that will help each pupil to act effectively in the classroom from day to day in the light of his developmental tasks. They see themselves helping individuals to find satisfying social roles and to gain a sense of personal accomplishment and worth. We judge that these desirable perspectives, insofar as they have been achieved, have been due largely to the fact that the study has been oriented toward the definition of what is normally involved in growing up in our society rather than toward the diagnosis and cure of pathological behavior.

Deciding what to record about a child

What should I record about the child I am studying? What kinds of behavior shall I describe in anecdotes? What shall I try to find out when I visit his home? These questions have come up over and over again in all of the child-study groups and an important problem of policy is involved in framing answers. Persons responsible for the program must decide which among

three alternatives will keep the teacher's interest high, result in the most rapid learning, and help to reach valid conclusions about the children being studied. They can tell the teachers immediately what they should seek to learn about a child. They can delay describing what a teacher should know about a child until some specific time in the study program. Or they can leave it to the teachers to discover for themselves the kinds and amount of information that are prerequisite to understanding a child's motivation and behavior.

There are a number of reasons why the first alternative is not the best one. When teachers are given a list of patterns of behavior to be checked in studying a child, they tend to look for and at these patterns as separate, independent items of information. As a result they do not gather the necessary facts in constellations related to each other nor describe the child's behavior against its situational context. They seem to expect that certain combinations of these isolated facts inevitably and invariably will add together to give exact diagnoses of motivation. These are very undesirable attitudes toward the gathering and interpretation of data about children. Each child is different from every other child. That is why we have to get a good deal of information about an individual before we can form hypotheses as to which scientific generalizations explain his motivation and needs. Furthermore, child behavior is never a function of the characteristics of the child alone; it is the resultant of the dynamic interaction of factors in the child's life space and in the child's own body and personality. It is therefore most important to describe not only the child's behavior but also the situations in which the behavior is observed. In other words, the use of checklists and the recording of numerous isolated facts takes the life out of records and makes them very difficult to interpret correctly. Checklists also permit a teacher to fail to notice unlisted important things that are right under his nose.

The psychologist-consultant was sensitive to these dangers in the use of checklists. He therefore decided to leave it to the teachers to work out for themselves the kinds and amount of information that they needed in order to understand the chil-

dren they were studying. Early in the study when the teachers first asked what they should record, he responded somewhat as follows:

There is no need to be concerned in the beginning about making a complete history of the child. Complete is a relative term anyway. You don't want to know everything all at once. As a matter of fact, you teachers already know a lot more than you realize about the children you teach. A way to begin would be to write what you already know. Then you can add what others have found out. Of course you won't stop there but will move on to investigate other areas. Find out and record everything that you can without disturbing the child or his family . . . but we must not find out anything at the expense of our relationship with the child. Teachers must not be too nosy. If any inquiry seems disturbing, skip it, and wait for another opportunity to find out about it.

He also wrote two booklets to guide the teachers in their study of children.² They were mimeographed and sent to the program leader for her own use but were not distributed to the teachers until the study group had been in operation for more than half of a school year. This was because it was feared that the teachers would use these booklets essentially as checklists. Sections of them were read to the study groups, however, and the ideas therein were discussed in group meetings. Another document was placed in the teachers' hands immediately.³ This material contained simple anecdotal records and supplied the teachers with many initial clues as to what to record.

At first the study groups met every week and the teachers would read their anecdotes to each other, commend and criticize them, and discuss how they could be improved. In this way the teachers steadily broadened their perspectives on what should be recorded, for each new type of episode that was described in an anecdotal record sensitized the other members of

² Fritz Redl, "Helping Teachers Study Their Children" (Chicago: Commission on Teacher Education, American Council on Education, 1940, mimeographed); "What Should We Know About a Child?" (Chicago: Commission on Teacher Education, American Council on Education, 1940, mimeographed). Both procurable from Committee on Human Development, University of Chicago.

³ Stuart Stoke, "Keeping Behavior Journals" (Chicago: Commission on Teacher Education, American Council on Education, 1940, mimeographed). Procurable from Committee on Human Development, University of Chicago.

the group to the significance of these additional facts. Of special value were the comments and suggestions written by the consultant as he analyzed some early accumulations of anecdotes that were mailed to him periodically. Of course he did not have time to analyze the records made by all teachers in the study groups, but he did react to quite a few. His analyses not only were studied by the teacher who originally made the records, they also were shared with her study group. In this way a steady stream of suggestions as to needed additional information flowed into each study group, and the teachers' conceptions of what they needed to know about a child developed as a function of their own study.

Probably the most effective clarification of the teachers' ideas about what they should record occurred during the consultant's periodic visits to the school system. Prior to one visit the anecdotal records of a few children were sent to him and he studied them carefully. Then, during his visit, he went to the school in which each of these children was at work and observed each one briefly. Afterward he went over the anecdotal records with each child's teacher, adding his own observations to the already recorded data, raising many questions of fact and of interpretation, and making many suggestions as to additional information that was needed. Of course the teachers found that they already knew many of the additional facts for which he asked; they merely had not thought to record them because they had not perceived their significance. Some of these records also were discussed by the consultant with the study groups so that everybody shared in the experience of hearing the consultant explain what he had learned from his own observation and from his conversation with the teacher. These visits by the consultant always stimulated the study-group members, not only because he made helpful suggestions about what they should record, but also because, when data were adequate, he frequently was able to interpret the behavior of certain children and to make constructive suggestions as to how they could be helped. In this way the teachers saw that their study of children had a practical value, that it eventually would train them to make their own

valid interpretations of their pupils' developmental tasks. It would be difficult to overestimate the motivational value of these contacts with the consultant.

Some of the teachers tended to lose their zest for anecdote writing after studying a child for three or four months. "Shall we keep on recording the same kinds of behavior day after day?" they asked. "The anecdotes are becoming monotonous. What can we do when things seem to be at a standstill?" A paraphrase of the consultant's reply to these questions follows:

It is normal to reach a stage when nothing new seems to happen. Do not fail, however, to record repetitions. It is necessary to find out what patterns of behavior are repeated to see that there are elements of constancy in a child, such as grouchiness for example. Of course this need not go on endlessly, but it must be continued long enough for the record to show the trend and to demonstrate that the trend is stable. By recording the repetitions we also are enabled to discover instances in which the child *does not* respond in the expected way. . . . Now if a child often behaves in a certain way, but sometimes does not, we may find a clue as to where to look for the cause of this repeated behavior. On the other hand, we must be careful not to be too absorbed in one pattern of behavior just because it is often repeated. We must not let this constant characteristic of behavior screen from our observation other patterns that occur but seldom. Also, if the record seems to be at a standstill, it may be a sign that we need to catch our breath, to look behind the record for some of the factors that are causing the recurring behavior. The data usually will furnish clues, and they in turn will show us what to look for next.

When the booklets prepared by the consultant finally were placed in the hands of the teachers they found answers to many questions that had been troubling them. Nevertheless the local leader feels that it was wise to withhold these brochures for several months. She believes that they would have been followed rather slavishly by the teachers, as directions handed down from above, if they had been made available at the very beginning of the study program. In that case the teachers would have learned to make records merely by rule of thumb, they would not have come so readily to understand the real role of anecdote writing.

Without the booklets they frequently were puzzled as to what to record and as to the significance of what they had recorded. This *forced them to think* about the use to which their records could be put as a basis for deciding what to record. Thus the teachers themselves shared in defining what they needed to learn about each individual and in locating the possible sources of this information.

The consultant and other members of the Commission's staff concur with the local leader in this judgment. All of us feel that teachers should begin to observe behavior, to write anecdotes, and to organize accumulations of anecdotal records prior to being given a blueprint of the kinds of information about the individual that are necessary to an understanding of him. We believe that these preliminary two or three months of exploratory observation and anecdote writing raise important questions in the teachers' minds and that answers to these lively questions are more meaningful than answers supplied before any questions are raised.

Developing skill in gathering facts

The first two chapters of this report told how teachers developed skill in observing children and describing their behavior. The third chapter recounted how members of the study groups learned to establish easier relationships with parents and to glean needed information about a child's infancy and early childhood, and about the family situation, from the informal conversations that occurred during visits to the home. Another chapter described how teachers learned to pool information. But many facts other than those gathered in the ways just mentioned are required for a full understanding of a child's development and conduct. These additional facts must be valid and accurate; besides, special skills are needed for gathering them. Facts about the child's physical health, facts discoverable through sociometric tests and a succession of sociograms, data gathered from intelligence tests and from standard tests of competence in school subjects, facts deducible from charts of growth incre-

ments or from the Wetzel grid graph,⁴ and facts obtainable by projective techniques (through the use of the Rorschach test, for example) are all valuable. This list indicates the variety of sources of significant information that should be available to teachers in any school system if they are to be supplied with what they need to know about their pupils.

Of course we are not suggesting that all of the teachers in a school system should be skilled in *all* of these procedures for getting data. We are saying, however, that every teacher should know what can be learned from each of the above sets of facts and what are the limitations of each. We believe too that each teacher should know how to collect some of these varieties of information, and that the program leader should encourage different teachers to develop different skills and to serve each other by using these skills in testing or measuring classes other than their own. Usually the interests of teachers are sufficiently divergent to lead to this variety of skills within a school building, or certainly within a school system, without administrative pressure.

For the most part the teachers in the child-study program being described showed this diversity of interest. Various ones among them developed the different needed skills. However, certain of our exploratory enterprises were not fully successful because we did not use sufficient care in developing skills prior to making attempts to gather certain kinds of information. For example, it was during the third year of the program that study groups were first organized in separate schools or small groups of schools. These study groups included a majority of teachers with one or two years of experience in the study program, but they also included minorities of two to six teachers who were new to the work. At this time the consultants and local leaders were interested in experimenting with various sociometric techniques and methods of group observation. Teachers experienced in child study were interested in this too; so the neophytes thought that they also might begin to gather data of this kind.

⁴ Normal C. Wetzel, *Grid for Evaluating Physical Fitness* (Cleveland: N.E.A. Service, 1941).

A good deal of confusion ensued; some of the experienced members of the groups made excellent progress in developing sociograms and in analyzing the structure and dynamics of their class groups, as was illustrated by Chapters IX and X. But many of the teachers who were new to these study groups did not have a satisfying and effective induction into the program. Although they did quite well at the writing and accumulating of their anecdotal records about one or two children, some of the zest for these activities was dissipated by anxiety as to whether their sociograms were "right."

We know now that it would have been better to have organized a supplementary special unit to explore the use of sociometric techniques and anecdote writing about groups. From time to time participants could have reported their procedures and findings to the regular building units. In this way the teachers who were especially interested in the structure and dynamics of classroom groups could have developed their own skills more rapidly and more fully, while the new teachers in the regular study units would have gained first some understanding of the meaning of sociometric and group data and only later would have been encouraged to experiment for themselves.

Members of the Commission's staff also failed to supply adequate guidance in connection with the study of physical growth. For example, the head of the division of child development and teacher personnel explained the adolescent phase of the growth cycle to the leadership group and demonstrated the characteristic changes of rate that mark this period by graphs of semi-annual increments in standing height. He left the impression that it was a relatively simple matter to measure how tall a youngster is, to subtract his height at six months before from his present height and to add a new point to the lengthening graph of rate of growth by using this new increment. This is, indeed, a relatively simple series of operations, but each step requires certain skills and certain precautions against error. If these skills are not used and the precautions taken, the resulting figures will lack enough in accuracy to make the graph quite meaningless. By neglecting to emphasize the skill factors and

the precautionary measures that are essential in studying physical growth, this consultant led a considerable number of teachers in the child-study groups into a blind alley that used up time and energy without yielding usable data.

Fortunately we did not make similar errors in the use of intelligence tests. Such tests had not been used in this school system for several years prior to the beginning of the study program. Consequently we were able to lead the teachers into a fairly extensive exploration of the motivations, emotional tensions, and varying experience backgrounds that were influencing the learning of children prior to the application of group tests of intelligence as rough measures of mental ability. The result was that the teachers were not overly discouraged when confronted by the fact that a child had an IQ of 85 or 90, because they already had a realistic sense of what he could do, of the influence of limiting factors in his experience or home background, and of the nature of his motivations and aspirations. Perhaps this is another way of saying that we were able to give these teachers experiences that taught them what a dull-normal child is like and how very much he can learn before we gave them the symbol for the level of ability that such a child has. The same holds true of the teachers who were studying children with IQ's above 120. They, too, learned the limitations imposed on learning by emotional factors, restricted experience, and lack of adequate motivation, before discovering that the children had such high abilities; so they did not anticipate automatic learning at a high level of effectiveness by these children. For most of the teachers in this study IQ's and mental ages have become simply additional data in a configuration of facts about a child. They have not been the primary facts that demonstrated once and for all the futility of trying to do much with a child of low IQ or the laziness of a child of high test score doing mediocre work—as has been true in some school systems using intelligence tests.

The gist of this section is that gathering and using data about a child require a wide variety of specific skills and that a child-study program must plan for developing these skills. They can-

not be taken for granted. Moreover when data are manipulated statistically, the work must not only be done accurately and with the utilization of proper procedures, but the meaning of the findings must be explained carefully to the teachers who are incorporating the findings into their case studies of individuals. The interpretations of these data, made by individual teachers, must then be checked in order to make sure that quantification has not been overstressed and led teachers to give too much weight to particular test findings.

Interpreting accumulated information

A teacher's natural motivation for studying a child grows out of the desire to facilitate his learning, to help him adapt his behavior to the demands of school situations, and to aid him in forming and in achieving worthy aspirations. Few teachers want to understand a child simply for the sake of understanding him —they have more practical and socially useful interests in him. It follows that the teachers in this study were eager from the very beginning to make use of the records they were building up and of the scientific concepts and principles they were learning from lectures, reading, and discussions. They readily became dissatisfied with anecdote writing if more than three or four months went by without some encouragement to consider their meaning. Both the program leader and the consultant were aware of this natural tendency and did their best to help work out the practical implications of the insight being gained.

One of the major problems of policy arose here. Should teachers be encouraged to develop a working hypothesis about the fundamental adjustment problems and developmental tasks a child is facing almost as soon as they have begun to gather data? Or should they be warned of the many dangers involved in judging on the basis of inadequate information and urged to form no hypotheses until they have studied a child for five or six months or longer? Three years of experience with this program has brought us face to face with certain factors that must be recognized in making this choice.

In the first place, this was a program of *in-service* training.

During five days every week the teachers were meeting the children they were studying in classroom situations that required decision and action. This necessity for decision and action inevitably led the teachers to form hypotheses about the abilities, motivation, and needs of the individual pupils. In other words, every teacher who entered a study group already had some hypotheses about the child selected for study and already was acting upon them. It would be quite futile under such circumstances to say that no opinions about a child must be formed during the next four or five months! But the early chapters of this report have shown how mistaken were many of these initial hypotheses, and the teachers' evaluations have told how they gradually altered not only their opinions of individuals but also the very bases of their judgments as the study progressed. In effect, then, the study forced us to recognize that teachers of necessity made judgments about the children they were studying and could be helped most by a series of experiences that gradually increased the validity of these judgments.

In managing a child-study program for teachers in service it is most important to recognize and admit the considerations outlined above and to plan a developmental sequence of activities with the teachers so that both they and the consultants will be conscious of the processes of hypothesis formation and of the need to improve these processes. The discovery of how difficult it is to write a descriptive rather than an evaluative anecdote usually is sufficient to open a teacher's eyes to the way assumptions about a child permeate and shape all dealings with him. The uncovering of enough facts about him so that the teacher can see even one or two situations through the child's own eyes provides another moving experience; it reveals how frequently and how grossly this child and others must have been misjudged in the past. Given these experiences, a teacher usually is anxious to proceed as quickly as possible to define what must be known in order to make valid judgments and to get this information about the child he is studying. Having proceeded a considerable distance in this direction, the teacher is then confronted with the fact that his scientific background is inadequate and he is

forced to embark on another long program of acquiring the necessary knowledge and explanatory concepts. These tremendous tasks that present themselves one after another would overwhelm a teacher and damage his classroom effectiveness if he could not know the satisfaction from week to week of making small decisions that he himself can recognize as superior to those he would have made before engaging in child study.

Recent examination of the evaluations of some fifty teachers after one or two years' work in the program here presented fully confirm the opinions expressed in the preceding paragraph. Virtually everyone of these individuals described from one to five instances when specific, limited, new concepts about human behavior or specific new information gathered about an individual child made possible decisions that proved to be helpful to that child's adjustment, learning, or acceptance by his peers. These teachers were able to use new concepts and new information about their pupils almost immediately, and they all reported great satisfaction that this was true. At the same time the great majority of them also showed that they strongly felt the need for much more comprehensive scientific information to use in interpreting their findings. We feel that this recurring experience of actually understanding a youngster better and of seeing extremely limited hypotheses really substantiated by the good effects of policies based on them, was a major factor in urging these teachers to a more thoroughgoing theoretical study of human development and behavior.

Actually the development of skill in diagnosing the maturity, developmental tasks, adjustment problems, and abilities of a child is very difficult and takes the average teacher a long time. We feel that it will require at least five years of in-service education of the sort provided by this program to bring most of them up to the level of professional competence indicated as necessary by their classroom responsibilities. The most intensely satisfying result of the study program reported here is the assurance that it really can be done.

Ten steps were presented in Chapter VII as essential to a scientifically valid interpretation of how a child can be helped

after an adequate body of explicit information has been accumulated on him. The ten steps were described as follows: (1) arranging the facts in accord with an organizing framework for information; (2) checking the facts; (3) looking for clues and uncovering blind spots; (4) identifying and listing recurring situations and patterns of behavior; (5) spotting significant unique events; (6) forming a series of hypotheses to account for particular patterns of behavior; (7) relating hypotheses about different patterns of behavior to each other in order to understand the child as an organized whole and as a developing personality; (8) checking hypotheses against an organizing framework of explanatory principles in order to discover contradictory, oversimplified, or biased interpretations; (9) planning practical ways of helping children; and (10) evaluating hypotheses and plans on the basis of the effects of practical attempts to help the child.

Some other description of this process might serve just as well. The important matter is to recognize clearly that the mere possession of adequate information about a child and of rich knowledge of scientific research will not automatically result in the correct interpretation of the child's needs nor in the best practical procedure for helping him. Earlier chapters have presented a number of the methods followed by the teachers in the child-study program in carrying out some of the steps in the series described above. A great deal more experimentation with each of these steps is called for. In particular, it has been difficult to get teachers to avoid oversimplified and biased interpretations of the facts they had gathered on a child's motivation and adjustment problems.

USING ORGANIZING FRAMEWORKS

One matter of policy continues to trouble Commission representatives and the local leader. We have not been able to reach full agreement concerning the use of some conceptual framework as the basis for integrating our explanatory concepts, for organizing the information about an individual child, and as a check on the scope and consistency of a teacher's interpretation

of the particular case. It is clear to all of us that some organizing principles are desirable in connection with each of these operations but we need further experience with study groups before we can be sure what conceptual patterns are most helpful. Moreover, we do not yet feel certain of the exact time in a program of child study when participating teachers should be given such a framework. But despite this lack of finality in our thinking, some of the considerations that are influencing our opinions seem worth recording here.

A framework for scientific knowledge

The first problem is that of helping teachers to integrate their steadily growing body of scientific knowledge about human development and behavior. A child is an individual unity; all of him goes to school and is affected by whatever happens in the classroom and on the playground. Consequently teachers have to be concerned with research findings that point up the significance for a child's development of such matters as the following: health, nutrition, rate of energy output and of fatiguing, physical maturity level and rate of growth, physical attractiveness or lack of it, affectional relationships at home, status and interpersonal relations with other children, status and interpersonal relations with teachers and other adults, family mores and standing in the community, ability to learn and employ special aptitudes, experience background, actual knowledge and skills, attitudes, values and aspirations, patterns of expression of emotion, adjustment problems, defense mechanisms, and developmental tasks.

At least half a dozen major sciences are investigating these different aspects of human development and are reporting their findings in their several technical phraseologies. Some sciences are even beset by different "schools," each of which has its own particular language for describing the phenomena under investigation. This is particularly true of psychology and psychiatry. As a teacher reads in these various fields he picks up hundreds of different facts and dozens of major explanatory concepts. His task of integrating this welter of information into a comprehen-

sive and correlated set of ideas about the development and conduct of children is a most difficult one. Unless he is helped to arrange these facts and concepts in some order, many of them remain isolated and of little value when it comes to deciding how to help a given child. Some of us feel that teachers can be greatly helped in this regard if they are given a relatively simple organizing framework to which they can attach each new item of information and each new explanatory principle as it is encountered. A possible sample of such a framework is presented herewith in the form of a topical outline. It indicates the range of scientific knowledge that is needed and supplies categories for the convenient assembling of such knowledge, no matter from what science it has been obtained.

1. The role of organic factors in growth, development, and behavior
 - a. Fundamental organic processes that underlie growth, development, and behavior
 - b. Processes and patterns of growth at different maturity levels
 - c. Development of organic and psychological functions
2. Role of interpersonal relationships involving affection and friendship
 - a. In the family
 - b. Among peers
 - c. Between the child and adults outside the home
3. Role of cultural factors in development and behavior
 - a. Variety and patterning of social roles in American culture
 - b. Impact of cultural pressures and expectancies on the developing child
 - (1) Interaction of a child and members of his family
 - (2) Interaction of a child and his peers
 - (3) Interaction of a child and adults outside the home
4. Role of the "self" in development and behavior
 - a. Processes by which the child becomes conscious of "self"

- b. Processes by which the "self" is differentiated and organized
- c. Processes by which the "self" defends itself
- d. Processes by which the "self" extends its development and significance

5. The child in action as a dynamic, integrated whole

- a. Developmental tasks as the resultants of the interaction of organic, cultural, self-mediated, and environmental processes
- b. Adjustment problems as the resultants of the interaction of organic, cultural, self-mediated, and environmental processes
- c. Behavior as the resultant of the interaction of organic, cultural, self-mediated, and environmental processes

6. Factors usually favorable to wholesome development and behavior

- a. Factors that favor optimum organic growth and functioning
- b. Factors that favor wholesome social relationships and functioning
- c. Factors that favor wholesome differentiation and organization of the "self"
- d. Factors that favor optimum self-expression and self-realization

An outline or framework of this sort points to the areas in which a teacher must have some knowledge in order to understand child growth and behavior. It implies that this knowledge, from whatever sciences it may be gleaned, must be synthesized into explanatory generalizations. It raises for each teacher the question as to whether or not he has adequate information under each heading and so provides an urge to further study. It suggests concern with the processes and dynamics that govern human development rather than with descriptions of structure and attributes as static characteristics.

Of course such a framework must be explained to teachers by a presentation of some of the concepts that fall under each heading. But it does not follow that a list of major concepts should

be mimeographed and supplied to the members of a study group at the beginning of their work. In that case many persons might simply memorize the verbal statements and never actually grasp their meaning. Teachers always ask for the written formulations of basic principles and derive great satisfaction from receiving them. But our experience indicates that it is better to withhold them until the teachers have been observing and describing behavior and gathering other material about a child for at least a year. This activity builds up the empirical raw material that gives meaning to verbal expressions. Actually in the study groups described here we have not yet supplied any comprehensive statement of these explanatory concepts because we have not had them adequately formulated. But we have supplied some preliminary generalizations under certain of the headings and they have been well used by such teachers as had had as much as a year's previous experience in child study. For these teachers the statements have taken on meaning in terms of the specific actions of the children they had been observing.

A framework for information about a child

The illustrative material presented in the first ten chapters of this report showed many different methods of arranging or organizing the facts about an individual child. One has only to read a four or five months' sequence of anecdotes, together with the reports on a few visits to the youngster's home, in order to realize that the average teacher cannot proceed directly from rereading notes to the interpretation of the child's abilities, developmental tasks, and adjustment problems. The accumulated information must be arranged in such a way that the several items point to the principles that furnish the basis for hypotheses about the significance of each group of facts for the child's present behavior.

It is a tradition in clinical circles to record personal data in terms of the sources of this information. Rubrics such as the following are frequently found: physical examination, health history, family data, mental-test data, school history, achievement-test data, emotional adjustment, and the like. We have not

adopted this method altogether because we do not think it points directly enough to the explanatory generalizations to be used in interpretation. Classifying data in terms of their sources would serve very well to indicate to teachers the kinds of fact they need and have not yet collected. But the basis of organization that we propose serves this purpose equally well and has the added advantage of indicating the relevant scientific principles. There is accordingly no need for a third framework later to guide the teacher in making his interpretations. As experience has accumulated, our framework for arranging facts about a specific child has been modified several times. While further changes will doubtless be made, for the present we suggest the following as a helpful outline.

1. Organic factors that influence growth, development, and behavior
 - a. Health: disease history, corrected and uncorrected defects, nutrition, health habits
 - b. Characteristic rate of energy output; quality of physical endurance and recovery from fatigue
 - c. Growth history, present maturity level, and rate of growth
 - d. Skill in managing body; physical attractiveness
2. Relationships to others, social roles, and family status
 - a. Social roles of family members in the community
 - b. Interpersonal relations within the family, past and present
 - c. Child's interaction and relations with peers
 - d. Child's interaction and relations with adults outside the family
3. The child as a developing self
 - a. Conceptions about physical and social processes; his attitudes toward them
 - b. Conceptions of aesthetic and ethical principles; his attitudes toward them
 - c. Skill in using symbols in thinking and communication

- d. Patterns of emotional behavior; situations that evoke them
- e. Common defense mechanisms
- f. Present adjustment problems
- g. Developmental history and present developmental tasks
- h. Basic evaluation of himself as a physical being, as an object of love, as a social being, and as a "self"
- i. Values and aspirations

4. Summary: the child's major assets and needs
 - a. As a physical being
 - b. As to personal relations with others
 - c. As to social roles
 - d. As to experience, knowledge, and skills
 - e. As to attitudes, values, and aspirations
 - f. As to his evaluation of himself
 - g. In relation to his adjustment problems and developmental tasks

We have found that an organizing framework like the foregoing does not become a checklist in the hands of most teachers because facts are called for under each heading rather than judgments. Historical and social information about the child and his family is called for along with quantitative data from physical and psychological measurements. Anecdotes about actual events are very satisfactory entries. Furthermore, the fact that certain anecdotes have to be put down under three or four of the topical headings demonstrates to the teacher the functional relation and interdependence of different aspects of human development and behavior. Finally, the headings under which the facts about the child are to be arranged have a clear and suggestive reference to the earlier organization of scientific generalizations that explain man's growth and conduct. Interpretation takes place to a certain extent simply as a result of deciding where to classify a given item of information or anecdote. The fourth or summarizing section of this outline is meant to help the teacher in planning how to handle the child.

We believe that it is safe and desirable to place an organizing

device of this sort in a teacher's hands after some five or six months' experience in observing children and writing descriptive anecdotes about them. But we also think that the outline will be an aid to accurate and useful diagnosis *only* if the teacher likewise has the benefit of the wide variety of criticism and experience described in the first ten chapters of this report. In other words, we are not offering these organizing frameworks as a means of self-guidance for individual teachers. For to work alone in the attempt to understand a child would often mean confirming the prejudices and personality warpings that occurred in the teacher's own development, and subjecting the youngsters under observation to correspondingly undesirable pressures. Collaboration in this intricate matter of studying human nature seems generally necessary for all of us because of our blind spots, our repressed feelings and desires, and the prejudices that emanate from the roles we have played in society. This is true of psychologists, psychiatrists, and parents as well as of teachers.

Two BLIND ALLEYS

We believe that the mistakes made in the course of this child-study program should be stated rather baldly—perhaps even exaggerated a bit—to prevent other school systems from repeating the same errors. In connection with all mistakes of policy, however, the reader is asked to remember that the ideas in question seemed good at the outset and that it was the practical experience of this program that showed why they were undesirable. Attention is also called to the fact that the various consultants and members of the Commission's staff deliberated with the local program leader and school administrators about these policies, and gave them their approval. The "expert" status of these individuals meant that their opinions had great weight in the final decisions even though they encouraged wide participation in planning. In other words, it is safe to hold the outside consultants particularly responsible for the mistakes made even though they did not originate the whole constructive program.

Keeping anecdotal records on all pupils

As the first year of the study progressed many teachers noted that observing and writing anecdotes about one or two children had led them to notice very interesting things about a number of other youngsters in the class. They said they wished they could study these others as carefully as the few they were following so closely. They also raised the question as to how fair it was to give so much time and effort to the study of one or two children when other pupils would clearly be benefited if the teacher understood them better. There may also have been a desire on their part to demonstrate promptly the contribution that anecdote writing could make to the improvement of cumulative records. For all of these reasons it was agreed that, during the second year of the study, the teachers would keep anecdotal records on all of the children in their classes. At the end of each school day the teachers were to ask themselves, "What do I remember about individual children today?" They were then to jot down notes on two, three, or four youngsters; it was thought that fifteen to twenty minutes of writing would be sufficient. The expectation was that all children would be mentioned in these reports from time to time in the natural course of events.

In practice this task proved more arduous than was anticipated and, in their effort to include all pupils without using an inordinate amount of time, the teachers reduced considerably the length of most anecdotes. So when the study groups evaluated their accumulated records toward the end of the school year, they decided against continuing to write about every child. They came to this conclusion because they found the shorter anecdotes insufficiently descriptive of the situations in which episodes occurred and weak in showing the interaction among children.

This decision, and the experience that led up to it, made the staff rethink and restate their ideas about the function of anecdote writing in a program of child study. We now consider that extensive practice in writing objective descriptions of the behavior of not more than one or two children has many advan-

tages. It helps a teacher to see the actions of children in their situational and social contexts instead of in terms of the teacher's educational intent. It helps break the habit of appraising all classroom behavior as either good or bad, to be commended or blamed, and builds up the habit of looking for the causes of behavior. In time it supplies so much information about specific individuals that the teacher can see what a given situation really means to them and why they act as they do. In time it likewise permits teachers to see their theoretical concepts given flesh-and-blood reality in the conduct of living children. Moreover, when many teachers discuss their anecdote sequences with one another, the effect is to develop in each other a realistic appreciation of the range and variety of child behavior along with its many conditioning causes. These considerations confirm us in the belief that two or three years of observation and anecdote writing about one or two children is a very valuable professional activity for teachers. From it they are likely to develop considerable depth of understanding of the dynamics that underlie behavior and development.

The writing of anecdotes about all pupils for inclusion in their cumulative records is a very different matter. Only enough anecdotes need be included in a child's record to illustrate his characteristic patterns of behavior, to show his progress toward accomplishing particular developmental tasks, to reveal the adjustment problems that he faces, and to record his reaction to crises and other events of special significance to him. An anecdote or two a month will suffice to document these matters for most children in a class. But when crises occur or adjustment problems are pressing, it becomes necessary to write more frequent records, perhaps even three or four a week about a particular child during the period of his difficulty. Even so, a good many significant anecdotes must describe the interaction of children in group situations to reveal their several roles and their relationships with each other. Carbon copies of such records can well be filed in the folders of each of the children involved, and time can thereby be conserved.

All in all, if adequate cumulative records are begun in the

first grade and maintained in each grade as the children progress, the task of adding sufficient anecdotes and other data to describe their development during a given year would not be formidable. But this does presuppose that the teachers will have undergone a period of training similar to that outlined in the early chapters of this report so that they will recognize and record significant happenings in adequate detail and with the proper objectivity. We conclude that the decision of the teachers not to continue writing about all of their pupils should not be taken as evidence that the keeping of such records from year to year is impractical as part of a regular program.

Studying methods of handling problems

As anecdotal records accumulated and were discussed in group meetings during the first two years of the study, many incidents involving "problem behavior" were described. The words and actions of the teachers in dealing with such matters had likewise been recorded, so that a wealth of information on the whole subject and its immediate results had been collected. The obvious "study" followed. A committee of teachers listed seventy-nine different patterns of undesirable behavior, described from one to seven different techniques by which fifty-nine of them had been handled, and recorded the consequences as far as the child's actions were concerned. Doubtless some of the teachers learned new ways of dealing with difficult situations from this study, but it also had the undesirable effect of redirecting the attention of some of them back to the idea of applying certain specific methods when youngsters behaved in certain specific ways. In other words, its influence was away from stimulating teachers to try and get at the underlying causes of behavior and toward reaffirming in their minds the old pattern of looking for techniques with which to cure symptoms. Of course this was not our intention when launching this activity. Influenced by the prospect of the approaching termination of the Commission's field program, we were intent on finding out what improvement in classroom procedure had resulted from the two years of child study.

We believe that this project might have yielded some very interesting results if it had been deferred until these teachers had had some five years of work in child study. In that time they would have developed a comprehensive theory of human growth and would not have been in danger of being satisfied with techniques that merely suppressed undesirable behavior. As it was, we feel that we undertook this study of dealing with problems prematurely, before many of the teachers were able to discriminate between techniques that were effective in suppressing symptoms but undesirable for the child, and techniques that were appropriate for use whether or not they were immediately effective in eliminating the undesirable behavior.

FACTORS THAT INFLUENCED MORALE

The way participants feel about any program in which they are engaged has a marked influence on its success and value. This is especially true of activities that are undertaken cooperatively and that require the collaboration of large numbers of persons of diverse backgrounds and interests. It is important, then, to describe the morale of the participants in the child-study program and to analyze the factors that influenced the shifting moods of the group as a whole and of subgroups and individuals within it. Some of these factors already have been mentioned and will not be taken up again here.

In general, the morale of the child-study groups in the system being described was higher than that of similar groups in other public schools in the Commission's cooperative study. A larger proportion of the teaching staff participated, genuine interest in studying children was more extensive in the groups that were organized, there was a more continuous application of effort between visits by the field coordinator and by consultants, more exploratory activities were initiated, more teachers actually came to understand children better, and more modifications of classroom procedure in dealing with children have ensued. But the study was far from perfect in planning, in execution, or in the continuous and universal enthusiasm of participants. After all, everybody involved was human and group

activities by human beings always result in some controversy, friction, and limitations.

Undoubtedly the greatest factor that led to superior morale in this child-study program was the understanding and interest displayed by the superintendent of schools, by the assistant superintendent, and by the director of the observation program who became the program leader. From the beginning these responsible officers were more than permissive. They showed themselves willing to go to a great deal of trouble to facilitate the development and maintenance of the program. Their announcements of the opportunities available, their descriptions of the significance of the work, and their own participation demonstrated that they felt the program to be of major importance to the further improvement of education in the community. A majority of the school principals in the system displayed similar attitudes and this strongly reinforced the general feeling of participants that this cooperative study of children had great professional significance.

The teachers in this school system also showed unusually sound and sincere professional spirit in working on the development of the child-study program. We accounted for this professional spirit early in this chapter in describing the special readiness of this school system for child study and in commenting on the pressure from teachers that led to the launching of a second study group during the first year of the cooperative study. However, it must be recognized that in the beginning genuine enthusiasm for child study did not characterize more than one teacher out of four, and perhaps not even that high a proportion of the total staff. Most of the teachers initially wanted rule of thumb solutions for handling behavior problems rather than an opportunity to study human development and behavior.

But after the study had been found to have value it gradually became clear that "the superintendent" desired to extend it to include all members of the staff. Under these circumstances, although participation in the program remained entirely voluntary during these first three years, the normal operation of human motives inevitably led a certain number of teachers to

join child-study groups because they "felt that they ought to" or that it was good policy to do so. Having entered the study with this kind of motivation, this small number of persons felt indirectly coerced, and therefore found it easy to complain about one thing or another. As is usual in situations of this sort, it was also true that some of the teachers, who for one good reason or another had not affiliated with a child-study group, nevertheless felt uneasy and under the necessity of defending their failure to participate. They questioned participants in the program, looked for and found elements to criticize, and, doubtless unconsciously, organized resistance cliques in a few school buildings. Every school person who has participated in cooperative programs of curriculum revision has experienced this sort of thing.

There also is a very narrow line between the sincere enthusiasm for a project by the top administrators of a school system, that is so essential to democratic leadership, and the subtle and almost unconscious use of administrative pressures that will arouse resistance on the part of all unconvinced subordinates. Also there is always a good-sized minority of teachers who are extremely conservative in the sense of resisting any change in their habits. Of course they cannot admit this to themselves; so they are forced to rationalize their objections by interpreting the new program as coercive. The staff does not have sufficient objective information to judge how far each of these factors operated to produce the very limited amount of resistance to the child-study program that was found in this system.

Industrial personnel research has demonstrated that many small things about the way work is carried on influence the morale of a group.⁵ One consultant had an unusually good opportunity to study these factors in relation to this study program during a two-week camp conference in June 1943. This conference had been set up at the suggestion of the superintendent in order to accelerate the development of group leaders. It was attended by twenty-five persons who already were leading study

⁵ See F. J. Roethlisberger and William J. Dickson, *Management and the Worker* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939).

groups or who showed promise of becoming leaders. The consultant discovered certain irritations about the program in this group at the very outset of the conference and raised the question as to whether they should be explored. The group indicated that they themselves would be happier in the study if means could be found to reduce some of these tensions, and they also felt that they would be more effective as group leaders after a discussion of practical means of handling such strains.

Three discussion periods were devoted to the analysis of tensions. Each person in the circle was asked to describe the factors in the child-study program that had annoyed, confused, or frustrated her or that had made her feel insecure. Anonymous reports of complaints that they had heard made by other participants in the program also were requested. The consultant tabulated the irritations that were reported and found that they fell under three main headings: time pressure, feelings of anxiety and inadequacy, and the technical nature of available books. Each of these topics was taken up in turn and was analyzed by the group in terms of frequency of occurrence, causative factors, and possible remedial measures.

Time pressure was by far the most frequently reported source of irritation associated with the child-study program. Participants at the conference said they were conscious of four aspects of the work as the chief sources of time strain; namely, writing anecdotes, making repeated home visits, attending study group meetings, and processing such materials as accumulations of anecdotes, case interpretations, and sociograms. The consultant suggested an analysis of the time actually consumed by each of these aspects of the study and of the procedures involved, in order to plan less time-consuming ways of working, if possible. A brief report of these discussions follows and shows that secondary, unrecognized motivations often caused individuals to spend more time on various aspects of the study than was needed or expected.

Factors relating to study procedures

Some members of the group reported that on the average it

took them about five minutes to write an average-length anecdote, while others held it took them fifteen minutes. The average time reported for the group as a whole was about seven minutes. We judged that about four anecdotes a week were recorded about the average child that was being studied and this required no more than thirty or forty minutes a week. It did not seem a heavy time drain; but here some teachers reported being disturbed by a feeling that they did not write well. Finally it came out that some individuals had been using a good deal of time in trying to phrase the anecdotes well. We inferred that the fact that many of the anecdotal records were read aloud in study groups and at other times were examined by principals, by the program leader, and by consultants, had made some of the teachers unnecessarily careful. Perhaps it was a warning to the consultants that they should be wary about giving special praise to anecdotes with neatly turned phrases. It was pointed out that only simple, unembellished descriptions of situations and behavior were needed and that the study groups repeatedly had heard this stated by the program leader and by consultants. It appeared, however, that group leaders have a special responsibility for keeping this perspective constantly before participants early in the study program in order to prevent a sort of literary competition from developing.

With regard to home visits, some members of the group reported that they did not have a clear-cut idea of the information they wished to get, that they therefore spent a lot of time "just visiting" and had to make a number of home visits to get a satisfying amount of knowledge about the family situation and the child's early life. Others reported that while they knew what they wanted to find out during a particular home visit, they did not know how to ask questions without seeming to pry, so that they too spent a lot of time waiting for the right openings to appear. The group was assured that they were correct in not plying parents with a series of direct questions, but the suggestion emerged that the information to be gained during home visits should be defined more clearly. As a consequence, some of the study groups have undertaken this task during the current

year. They also are analyzing some home-visit records in order to work out more effective interview procedures.

Some individuals felt that a good deal of time had been wasted in group meetings. The most specific complaint was that methods for tabulating children's friendship choices and for arranging these data into sociograms had been worked out in such meetings. It was felt that much time would have been saved by having a small committee work out these procedures beforehand and by having them report and demonstrate effective methods to the larger study groups. It was noted, too, that the presence in building study groups each year of a few new teachers had led to the reiteration of many facts and explanations that were boring to persons who had been in study groups for one or two years already. Apparently it would help to have all beginners work together in a special "induction group" for a few months until they had learned many of the basic concepts and skills used in the study. After this training they could join their ongoing building groups without either appearing at a disadvantage or wasting time.

When it came to the time required for "processing" anecdotal records, interpretations, and sociograms, the overconscientiousness of teachers, or their desire to appear in a favorable light, again became apparent. Many of the teachers had laboriously recopied extended series of anecdotal records before turning them in to the program leader or to the consultant. They reported wanting their material to look well, and a few implied that this was universally expected of teachers. The group was assured that there was nothing immoral about a few crossed out words, grammatical errors, blots, deficiencies in punctuation, or misspellings. Unfortunately, most American teachers seem to suffer guilt feelings if they present any material that is not an evenly spaced, beautifully inscribed, errorless document that connotes meticulous care. It was suggested that this one of the occupational mores might be altered somewhat in the interest of the conservation of time in the child-study program.

In their turn, the consultants were convicted of having launched case interpretation and the drawing of sociograms

without having made sufficiently careful plans for inducting teachers into these activities. They had not taken the time to sit down with a group of teachers to perfect a guiding framework for organizing case data or to work out the most efficient procedure for arranging sociometric data before trying to construct sociograms. From this criticism we learned that what seems simple to a consultant, well versed in statistical and clinical procedures, may seem quite complex to teachers without this special training. Care in working out the details of procedure for processing test data and for organizing case material can save teachers in the study groups many hours of time and will result in superior and more satisfying work. Certain steps were taken toward these ends at the camp and are being developed further during the current year.

Anxiety and insecurity

Next to time pressure and fatigue, the group reported that feelings of anxiety and inadequacy were the greatest causes of morale depression among participants in the child-study program. Members of the group reported that at various times they had been troubled by the following uncertainties: they had not known what to notice, they had not known what facts were significant enough to record, they had not known how to make practical use of anecdotal records in getting at a child's needs, they had not known how to help children when they had discovered out-of-school factors to be the cause of difficulties. These are the natural anxieties of very conscientious persons who are experiencing a basic alteration of professional role and purpose.

The security that goes with knowing a body of subject matter and with being skilled in professionally approved "methods" of "teaching" it to children may be destroyed temporarily by a child-study program. In the average American school a teacher can fulfill his professional responsibilities completely by "knowing his subject matter" and by being a skillful technician with various methods of teaching and controlling children. If a child fails to learn or to be happy with such a teacher he often is regarded as "dumb" or "lazy" or "unfortunate in his choice of

parents" while the teacher is secure in the feeling that he has done all he can. In contrast, the child-study program implies that all human behavior is caused and that children will learn what they need to know if the conditions, relationships, and experiences accessible to them at school and elsewhere are appropriate to their abilities and maturity. It implies also that a teacher should understand his pupils well enough to distinguish what they need and that it is his professional role to guide classroom situations in such a way as to meet these needs. It is only natural for teachers to feel anxious and insecure as this new perspective gradually becomes conscious. In fact, they generally feel more "responsible" for each child's behavior and wholesome development than is realistic and socially desirable. They tend to forget momentarily that the home, the church, the peer group, and various community agencies also have a hand in shaping each child's development. It takes participants in a child-study program some little while to make a realistic appraisal of what they actually can do to help children work through their developmental tasks and adjustment problems. Most of the camp group indicated that they had felt some of these anxieties and reported that they gradually had got over them as they had accumulated experience in the program.

Other factors

The final complaint of any serious consequence related to the paucity of reference books that were scientifically sound and yet not couched in technical vocabularies that made them terribly heavy reading after a full day at school. Most of these teachers were college graduates, but none of them had had basic courses in all of the sciences that study human development and behavior, so all of them were at a disadvantage in reading some of the references supplied to them. They felt particularly the lack of books that showed the interrelationships between facts derived from different sciences, reporting that most books discussed were concerned with only one aspect of human development and that few dealt with the child as a whole. Unfortunately there is little that can be done about this complaint ex-

cept to direct the attention of scientists to the needs of the educational profession. It does suggest, however, that more adequate mimeographed outlines, study guides, illustrative material, and carefully edited expositions of scientific facts should be prepared for child-study groups.

In evaluating the factors reported as adversely influencing morale a number of facts must be kept in mind. The teachers in this school system were building up their own units of work with their classes; the educational program included many diversified activities and therefore required that each teacher have a considerable number of skills; each teacher visited the home of every pupil at least once each year; parent-teacher groups were carrying on a variety of enterprises; and the teachers were likewise connected with many church and community affairs. Finally, the United States entered the war in December of the second year of the study and thereafter scrap drives, rationing, and a dozen other special activities put additional demands upon the teachers. It was only to be expected, then, that many of them felt continually hurried and pressed for time; yet few of them wished to give up child study altogether.

The administration had already recognized the danger of overloading teachers and had taken a number of steps to ease their work. Schools ran only half a day during the first week after opening in order to give teachers time to make a good many home visits. First grades ran on this half-day schedule for the first month of school in order to assure those teachers sufficient time to learn what they needed to know about new pupils from longer contacts with parents. Schools were closed during rationing days and the extra faculty meetings that so often waste time were eliminated in favor of carefully worded mimeographed statements. Adjustments were made so that the first half of the usual two-hour study meeting was held on school time and the second half after dismissal. The child-study groups also were scheduled to meet only every other week and they met in various buildings scattered throughout the system to save the time, gasoline, and tires which would have been required by meeting in the central high school. The remaining causes of

tension were chiefly matters that consultants could remedy as they became more skillful, or matters that experience in the child-study program itself would eliminate for most teachers.

SELECTING, TRAINING, AND USING LEADERS

During the cooperative study of teacher education the staff of the Commission's division on child development and teacher personnel assisted about ten school systems in their efforts to help teachers improve their understanding of children. Some of these efforts were successful, others failed, and still others achieved indifferent results. In every case the quality of the leadership was a most important if not a determining factor in determining the program's success or failure. We shall base our discussion of the roles of leaders upon this wider experience rather than simply upon the study program reported in this volume. To be sure, this particular project was successful largely because it enjoyed effective local leadership; but this cannot imply that the same pattern of leadership should be followed by all school systems that might undertake child study. In every situation the essential functions of leaders must be worked out in terms of the characteristics of the available people, of their status in the system and their relations to each other, and of the philosophy of administration that obtains in the system.

Conditioning attitudes

The roles of local leaders vary according to which one of three attitudes most nearly characterizes the superintendent of schools and his immediate associates. If these officers view the child-study program as a vital means of professional improvement in service for administrators and classroom teachers alike, it becomes possible for the group leaders to secure the necessary time adjustments in the school routine, the materials that are essential to the study, and the extra training that they themselves need. Financial support for the program becomes available and the known interest of the top administrators convinces the rank and file that the program is worth their time and effort.

In contrast, lack of enthusiasm or appreciation on the part of

the superintendent results in delays, meagre financial support, and a lackadaisical approach to the work that dampen the interest of leaders and leave untouched the very individuals on the teaching staff who are most in need of the experiences to be gained from child study. Worst of all perhaps is the situation in which the superintendent decides to launch a child-study program as a means of attracting favorable attention to himself as an up-to-date educator, or in order to strengthen his own professional position. In such a situation the study *must* be successful; mistakes are heavily penalized. Local leaders are betrayed into showmanship, domination, or the exploitation of willing workers in the effort to realize the spectacular success demanded by the administrator. Feelings of anxiety and insecurity are the portion of program and group leaders. Smouldering discontent and passive resistance mark the participants. The attitudes of the superintendent's immediate associates are similarly of great importance. A few well chosen phrases from them, casting doubt on the value of the undertaking and dropped to the right persons, can initiate resistance to the program that may ultimately line up the school personnel in opposing camps.

A related factor in determining the roles of local leaders is the value system that underlies the planning of the project itself, sometimes called its philosophy of educational administration. Some school systems are operated on an authoritarian philosophy with directives handed down from above by individuals who assume responsibility for making decisions by virtue of their status in the official hierarchy. Other school systems operate on a collaborative basis with policies developed jointly by the groups who must carry them out and the responsible administrative officers. In these latter systems there is a free flow of suggestion and criticism between classroom teachers and administrators without blame or unpleasant emotion on anybody's part. It is recognized that ineffective action occurs only because nobody fully understands all of the factors involved when policy decisions are made. When this democratic philosophy is used for the child-study program there is likely to be general agreement on the goals of the project and widespread

desire for its success. A third philosophy of education can be described as *laissez faire* and is marked by a large degree of autonomy on the part of school principals and sometimes of classroom teachers as well. It should be obvious that the role of a program leader or group leader will vary considerably according to which of these educational philosophies is locally in the ascendant.

There are a number of other personnel factors that influence the work of leaders but there is no time or space to analyze them here. The two just mentioned—the attitude of the top administrators and their philosophy of educational administration—are crucial. They emphasize the need for analyzing the personnel policies and practice of any school system that might be contemplating a program in child study. The personnel situations in the ten school systems with which the staff has worked proved to be very complex and the above brief discussion represents an oversimplification of what we actually found. Most school systems show some sort of mixture of all the tendencies, motivations, and educational values described. Over and over again apparently well conceived plans came to nothing because of personnel matters that had not been taken into consideration. Numerous obvious opportunities for valuable accomplishment were lost because action was paralyzed by personnel conflicts.

Roles of local leaders

The program leader is the responsible executive of the child-study program and, as such, is the servant of all participants. His tasks include making arrangements to facilitate the work of members of all study groups, coordinating the work of these groups, interpreting the program to participants and to the administration, sharing regularly in planning the program, analyzing and assisting in the resolution of personnel problems connected with the program, participating in the continuous evaluation of their work by individuals and groups, stimulating the extension of the program, guiding the work of the consultants, guiding the development of group leaders, and reporting significant aspects of the program to the profession.

At the beginning of a study the program leader need not be a specialist in human development and behavior, but in all of the effective programs in the cooperative study the person playing this role has advanced more rapidly in this area than any other participant. Usually this has been made possible by offering the program leader special opportunities for study. For example, as noted earlier, the program leader in the study reported in this volume attended a workshop in teacher education during the summer of 1940, and workshops on human development and education during the summers of 1941, 1942, and 1943. She also carried on a heavy schedule of reading during the intervening years. This intensive study made it possible for her to grasp the long-term scope of the work and so to plan wisely. It prepared her to help study groups in crystallizing explanatory concepts and in the appraisal and interpretation of their anecdotal records. It also made it possible for her to lead groups and individuals in the exploration of new techniques for studying children, such as sociometric analysis and the use of projective methods. In all of these matters this local leader likewise made judicious use of the services of various consultants.

One of the very important functions of a program leader is to stimulate and guide the development of group leaders. In the study being reported, the program leader attended all meetings of the study groups that were in operation during the first two years and stimulated various participants to take special responsibilities. Different members of the groups acted as discussion leaders, presented their accumulations of anecdotal material, reported on their scientific reading, digested and reported case studies from the literature, or presented interpretations of the children they were studying. They also reported back to their building faculties the gist of the study meetings. In this way many participants in the initial study groups gained practice in leadership activities under the guidance of the program leader, and were prepared to become group leaders when the program was expanded to include most of the teachers in the system.

The relationship of the program leader to consultants also deserves special comment, for the consultants should not dominate the program through the local leader. The major function of a consultant is to make expert scientific knowledge about human development and behavior and about the processes of child study readily available to local leaders and to study groups. Of course this implies the participation of the consultant in planning activities—which has its dangers. Teachers and group leaders assent easily to the opinions of an “authority.” They also are reluctant to discuss personnel problems or to reveal limitations of knowledge and ability before a comparative stranger. The effect is to overweight the opinions of the consultant and at the same time to limit the number of relevant factors on which he can base his judgments. Faulty plans and ineffective procedures often result. It follows that the program leader has special responsibility in connection with the use of consultants in planning. The program leader must keep the consultant fully informed about the local situation and the developing program so that the consultant's judgments can be sound. He also must protect the local study from including policies and procedures known by the consultant to have been successful elsewhere, but recognized by the program leader as unwise or impractical in the local situation. This usually implies extended preliminary conversations between the consultant and the program leader before planning meetings. And this in turn creates the danger that plans will be fully formulated by these two persons alone and accepted without adequate group discussion. When this happens both the intellectual and the motivational values that go with group collaboration are lost.

Group leaders play such varied roles in different communities and in different phases of the child-study program that generalization about their functions is difficult. In some communities they have initiated the formation of study groups and have guided the work of the same group over a period of three years. In other places the leadership has rotated with every meeting of the group—at least the chairmanship of the group has rotated. Sometimes a leader was chosen because members of the group

enjoyed having their work coordinated by this person. Others became leaders by virtue of their status as principal or supervisor. Still others were chosen because of special interest or competence in some aspect of child study.

A description has already been given of the manner in which group leaders were developed in the program under discussion. There were two or more of these leaders in each of the building study groups organized during the third year of the study. Usually they have alternated or collaborated in the leadership role. Their two years of experience in child study made them able to be of very practical help to the other teachers who were just being inducted into the program. Yet they were quite conscious of their limited scientific knowledge and of their limited skill with child-study procedures. In view of this and since their building study groups were meeting only every other week, they decided to form a leadership group that would meet on alternate weeks. At these latter meetings they exchanged experiences, discussed problems that had arisen, and pushed ahead their own studies of individual children and of the scientific literature. The program leader met regularly with this group, and it became the major planning body of the child-study program for a while. Criticisms, suggestions, and needs expressed by participants in the various building groups were discussed by the leaders, and such action as was practicable was planned. Consultants who visited the system always met with the leaders and responded to requests for scientific facts, for demonstrations of child-study techniques, or for the discussion of study-group problems. Some of these leaders were principals and others were classroom teachers, but no status distinctions were made in the leadership group or in the building groups.

Special assistance

Toward the end of the third year of the study program, the work of the building study groups was well launched and the task of planning the work of the fourth year presented itself. A number of the leaders again expressed their continuing feeling of need for additional knowledge and skill in order to in-

crease their effectiveness. The superintendent responded by suggesting a two-week camp-workshop to be held immediately after the close of school, with all expenses borne by the school system. Twenty-four interested members of the various study groups, including all leaders able to attend, assembled at the camp early in June 1943. A consultant from the Commission's division on child development and teacher personnel was secured to serve them.

The program at the camp-workshop was based directly upon the earlier expression of needs by members of the leadership group. A considerable library of selected books and monographs was taken to the camp and time was set aside daily for reading. The consultant gave a lecture every day in response to the request for an exposition of explanatory principles. In the course of the two weeks he presented a systematic overview of the major scientific concepts that describe human development and behavior. Two working groups were formed to analyze procedures of child study and to develop ways of carrying these out in building study groups. The activities of these working groups were varied. A procedure for analyzing good and bad anecdotes was demonstrated. The problem of arranging anecdotal and other data for interpretation was discussed, and methods were presented for giving study groups practice in locating the recurring life concerns of children and in spotting significant unique events in anecdotal sequences. A plan was worked out for helping participants to organize case data in order to facilitate interpretation. Each person at the workshop analyzed the complete body of information accumulated by some teacher about a given child, and presented an interpretation to the group for criticism.

Other significant activities also went on at the camp. Considerable time was set aside each day for recreation, rest, and social affairs. The group built up a feeling of solidarity based on their common professional concerns and on the discovery of shared personal interests. This was important because some of the participants had had no previous opportunity to get to know each other very well. Many continuing friendships were

formed. Participants also conferred freely with the consultant about individual children or about personnel problems that had arisen in their study groups. The camp-workshop was appraised by those who attended as a very useful and pleasant form of leadership training. It also was seen as an important morale builder. Present plans call for repeating the experience each summer while the study continues.

Local specialists such as psychologists, psychiatrists, physicians, and social workers have provided much additional special assistance in some of the school systems associated in the cooperative study of teacher education. They have given many talks designed to help teachers understand child growth and behavior. They have led study groups in the analysis and interpretation of the needs of particular children. They have counseled with individual classroom teachers and principals about youngsters who presented problems. They have served as consultants to building groups and as staff members at summer workshops operated by some of the school systems in question

SUMMARY

In this chapter we have shown how one school system launched its program of child study and developed it to include all of the professional personnel. We have described the major questions of policy that arose and have stated the considerations upon which decisions were based. Factors that influenced the morale of study groups were analyzed and the significance of the attitudes of the central administration was stressed. The roles of local leaders were described and the way in which they were trained was presented. In conclusion we must reiterate our conviction that participation in such a program as that described in this volume should be on a voluntary basis, with members of the study groups sharing in decisions about policy affecting their work. Competent consultants appear to be necessary but the real success of any project in child study depends chiefly upon the interest, skill, and tact of the local leadership

XIII

What Experience Has Taught Us

THE OBJECT of this report has been to communicate experience, to present anecdotal and descriptive material that would produce understandings and feelings in readers similar to those that repeated visits to the school system during the study might have effected. It would be gratuitous to add much in the way of interpretation. But, for the staff of the division on child development and teacher personnel, the experiences described in this report were part of a larger context. For four years we have been connected with different patterns of activity in about ten other school systems scattered across the country; we have had close association with successive groups of workers at the division's collaboration center as these studied recent research findings and reformulated their theoretical interpretations of human development and behavior; and we have given intensive consideration to the implications of scientific knowledge about children for educational policy and practice through work with several hundred persons in summer workshops. These experiences have reinforced and supplemented what was learned through the work described in this volume. Rather clear-cut opinions about certain educational matters have resulted, and the staff presents some of them in this chapter as answers to three questions. The questions to be considered are: (1) What often occurs between teachers and children at school that is harmful to the learning, adjustment, or development of children? (2) What knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values relating to human development and behavior should a teacher have

in order to work effectively in the classroom? (3) What leads has the work of the Commission on Teacher Education provided as to methods of helping teachers in service to develop the necessary equipment? It should be made clear that the staff is not speaking for the Commission in attempting to answer these questions. We are simply reporting, to the Commission as well as to the profession, certain conclusions growing out of our own philosophical and scientific orientation and enriched by many experiences gained from work on Commission projects.

It also should be understood that the staff regards most teachers as hardworking, devoted professional persons who are doing the best they can for children in the light of their present knowledge and insight, background of preparation, and vulnerability to administrative and community pressures. We repeat that classroom teachers should seldom bear the blame for their failure to help their pupils achieve maximum development. Most of them are, however, in need of assistance in improving their working methods and should be commended for any sincere effort in this regard.

DETERRENTS TO LEARNING AND ADJUSTMENT

What may occur between teachers and children at school that is detrimental to the youngsters' learning, adjustment, or development? The staff believes that the occurrences listed below are harmful to the best interests of children and that they happen often enough in the schools of the country to warrant careful study and experimentation looking toward their prevention.

1. Children are often expected or required to learn things that are inappropriate to their abilities, developmental level, adjustment problems, or motivation.
2. Children are often expected or even required to behave in ways that are inappropriate to the individual's level of development, adjustment problems, family background, physical condition, or life situations outside of school.
3. Relationships that imply the full acceptance of and respect for each child as a person are not always developed and main-

tained by the teacher. Particular children are often disliked or neglected.

4. Relationships among children that imply acceptance of each other and belonging in the group are not always stimulated and fostered by the teacher. Individual children may for years remain isolated or rejected by their peers.

5. Praise and blame, reward and punishment, encouragement and repression are usually meted out to children almost exclusively in terms of the significance of a child's behavior for school policies, the teacher's purposes for the class, or the teacher's personal code of conduct or pet aversions. Children's actions are not always appraised in light of the factors—including personal purposes—that caused it, nor are remedial measures often planned in view of these factors.

6. The behavior of children is often controlled by means that humiliate them before their classmates, demean them in their own eyes, repress potentially valuable curiosity, or induce a sense of being misunderstood or unfairly treated.

7. Developmental tasks and adjustment problems with which children are struggling frequently go unrecognized, and help that could be given is not supplied.

8. The development of necessary skills and factual learning is often made difficult, or even prevented, by failure to take into consideration such factors as a child's physical makeup, maturity level, growth rate, family situation, cultural background, status with classmates, lack of self-confidence, lack of security or trust in adults, limited experience, and consequent lack of prerequisite knowledge, skill, or interest.

9. Children with chronic infection or correctable physical handicaps are often not referred to clinics or physicians, and those referred are not always followed up until remedial treatment is accomplished; children with limited mental abilities often are not examined and given opportunity to learn at their own levels; children with severe emotional maladjustments or personality problems are not always referred to clinics for diagnosis or assisted in their adjustment by competent workers; delinquent children are often stigmatized and excluded without

adequate diagnostic study or effort at adjustment; neglected children are often unrecognized as such, are not brought to the attention of appropriate social agencies, and are not given needed food, clothing, affection, status, and roles through the school.

10. Children who are successful in conforming to the learning and behavioral demands of the school usually are not studied carefully. Many of them leave school with important undiscovered or underdeveloped abilities, with various mistaken or warped attitudes, with selfish asocial goals and aspirations, with uncorrected habits of dominating or exploiting others, or with undetected personality cleavages. Many of these children will become unsuccessful and maladjusted later, others will actively retard the amelioration of current social problems, while still others represent a needless waste of important social resources.

This list, showing ways in which schools fail to insure optimum development to some children and ways in which they actively limit and hinder the wholesome development of others, could be extended. Such regrettable failures and malpractices are, for the most part, unnecessary and preventable. They are due to a traditional philosophy of training children directly in adult patterns of behavior instead of viewing childhood and adolescence as periods of gradual development toward adulthood. They also are due to ignorance of the scientific principles that describe human development and behavior, to lack of skill in studying individual children and groups of children, to inadequate records, and to preoccupation with finances, buildings, subject matter, and with methods associated with subject matter, rather than with the children who are the real objects of education. The staff believes that the amount of time, money, and effort now expended for education in the average American community would suffice to insure wholesome development for nearly all children if education were recognized as developmental instead of direct training and if current scientific knowledge were applied in the educative process. The necessary knowledge about child development is available. The procedures for using this knowledge effectively must be worked out in the

schools themselves by carefully evaluated experimentation—they cannot be stated directly as "implications" of specific items of scientific knowledge. Tradition, inertia, and prejudice are the only serious barriers to tremendous improvement of education.

The paragraph above is not intended to suggest any analogy between education and industrial mass-production methods, even though industry has made remarkable use of scientific knowledge. Such analogies are dangerous and usually untrue for two reasons. Industry takes standard, tested raw material and processes it in a standard way to produce numerous items that are just alike. Children are not standard raw material and never can be because each child is significantly different from each other one. Of course if we classify children into groups on the basis of such facts as chronological age, mental age, and score on a reading test, it is easy enough to secure a "standard" population for some educative process; but in that case we have only fooled ourselves. There is no educative process for which chronological age, mental age, and score on a reading test are the only important variables. Maturity level, adjustment problems, social status in the class, physical health, self-confidence, attitude toward the teacher, experience background, emotional stability, and family situation are equally important factors that shape the child's motivation and determine his readiness for a particular learning task. When all these variables are known, no two children can be considered to be alike. While group experiences and activities still can be used as the basis for stimulating learning, a myriad of small and sometimes subtle variations in ways of dealing with different children in the group must be employed by the successful teacher on the basis of his understanding of the differences among them.

A second reason why analogies between industrial production and education are erroneous is because industrial raw materials do not initiate events in and of themselves, while children do. The human personality is dynamic or purposive in its own right. On the basis of his own values, aspirations, problems of adjustment, developmental tasks, and concepts based on earlier ex-

perience, a child comes to school with plans, goals, active motives, and the awareness that he himself can "start something." Even under the most coercive circumstances human beings cannot be processed in a standard manner with any assurance that all will respond in the same way. Indeed, our knowledge of the dynamic properties of the human self or personality makes it certain that the values, aspirations, and attitudes of individuals will always lead to differences in motivation and behavior within any given group in any specific situation.

Viewed from the perspective of science, the task of providing an education for children that will insure their wholesome development and social usefulness has two main features. First, identifying and making available to all children the materials, conditions, relationships, and experiences that are essential to healthy growing up in our culture. And second, helping students preparing to teach and teachers actively engaged in the profession to use these materials, conditions, relationships, and experiences in such ways as will recognize, meet, and give scope to the differences in motivation, need, and ability among their pupils.

From this perspective the teacher becomes a personnel worker rather than a purveyor of subject matter or an artisan with a bag of tools and tricks. Most of the limiting and harmful occurrences to be observed in present-day classrooms grow out of the fact that teachers usually are prepared and supervised in ways that make them primarily such purveyors and artisans. The lip service given in educational circles to "provision for individual differences" has not been implemented. Nor can it be implemented except by changing the professional education of teachers, by re-educating teachers now in service, and by altering the pressures now exerted upon them. The effectiveness of teachers must be evaluated in terms of the over-all development of their pupils, of their understanding of individuals and groups, and of their skill in diversifying materials, conditions, relationships, and experiences so as to help individuals accomplish their developmental tasks and solve their adjustment problems. We believe that the study described in this report demonstrates the

feasibility of this reorientation in educational emphasis, although we do not contend that all communities should use identical procedures to accomplish this end.

To be specific, we believe that the task is essentially one of preparing teachers to make sound judgments about children. As we have pointed out repeatedly, a teacher is called upon to make hundreds of judgments every day about the abilities, motives, feelings, attitudes, conduct, and needs of the pupils in his classroom. He must also make up his mind dozens of times every day about the characteristics of the class as a group and about the interaction of its several members. On the basis of these judgments teachers must set exact tasks for children, select means to stimulate their interest and learning, and choose methods of controlling their actions. Faulty judgments underlie each of the ten kinds of occurrence listed above as harming or limiting the development of school children. Of course we could easily have cited a dozen right things that teachers' judgments—which are often sound—customarily lead them to do, but the aim of this report is to suggest ways of improving educational practice not so much to praise present accomplishment. The point is that the crucial test of teachers' professional competence comes whenever they make up their minds about children and act on such opinions. The central problem of teacher education, as we see it, is not to supply candidates with foolproof materials and techniques along with practice in using them according to standard procedure. It is rather to prepare teachers to select or create their own materials and methods as they go along on the basis of genuine insight into the developmental tasks, adjustment problems, abilities, and interaction of their several pupils.

NEEDED KNOWLEDGE, SKILLS, AND VALUES

The second question with which we introduced this chapter had to do with the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values relating to human development that a teacher should have in order to work effectively. Teachers' judgments about their pupils will have a high probability of validity, and their efforts to

facilitate learning and wholesome development will be successful only if they have acquired the following personal equipment:

1. A comprehensive and integrated knowledge of the scientific generalizations that explain human development and behavior.
2. A sound definition of the conditions, interpersonal and social relationships, experiences, and activities that usually promote wholesome development and behavior on the part of children and youth in the various segments of our society.
3. A recognition of the kinds of information needed about an individual child in order to form hypotheses, with the aid of explanatory generalizations, about his developmental tasks, adjustment problems, and behavior in a given situation, and about how he can be helped.
4. Skill in getting the necessary information about individual children and about groups of children, and skill in ordering these facts in relation to one another so that they will point to the combination of generalizations or principles that will suggest hypotheses about the child's needs.
5. Skill in working out the meaningful relationships between facts about a child or a group and the relevant scientific generalizations. These relationships between principles and specific information must be sufficiently extensive to yield valid diagnoses of the meaning of a situation for a child, of the developmental tasks and adjustment problems he faces, of the motivation that underlies his behavior in a given situation, and of the interpersonal relations that are operative in the class of which he is a part.
6. Skill and ingenuity in devising and carrying out practical plans for facilitating the development, learning, and adjustment of the children whose needs, problems, and tasks have been diagnosed. Both deductions from known principles and ingenuity in creating new materials and situations are needed in making these plans.
7. A sincere respect for every child; a clear sense of professional obligation to help every child; a vigorous interest in securing competent professional diagnosis and treatment of any

suspected pathological conditions; and a strong code of professional ethics that governs all dealings with children and their parents and regulates the safeguarding and use of all information about individuals.

Only a very small proportion of the teachers now in service can meet these criteria of competence, but we believe that this is due to inadequacies in their preparation and to pressures met in their professional work rather than to any widespread lack of ability or of professional interest on the part of the teachers themselves. In order to make this clear and in order partially to define the scope of the problems to be faced in the re-education of teachers in service, we shall be more explicit about the knowledge that teachers need and in the analysis of the deficiencies of pre-service teacher education. This analysis grew out of our simultaneous concern with projects designed to help in-service teachers understand their pupils and with other projects looking toward the improvement of pre-service teacher education by the revision of courses in psychology and child development in a number of collegiate institutions. We believe that one of the major inadequacies in the pre-service education of teachers to understand children is due to the fact that courses in educational psychology and child development are too limited in the range of knowledge covered to give valid concepts of the processes involved in human growth, development, learning, motivation, behavior, and adjustment.

The following needed bodies of knowledge very frequently are omitted from such courses:

1. Descriptions of fundamental organic processes that determine physiological stability, energy available for growth and activity, and the quality of the organic structures that are differentiated.
2. Descriptions of the dynamic patterning of growth that characterize and differentiate the prenatal, infantile, childhood, adolescent, and adult phases of the life cycle.
3. Descriptions of the educational, social, and behavioral significance of individual differences in physiological stability, energy available for activity, patterning of growth, maturity levels, and in the quality of organic structures differentiated.

4. Descriptions of the social processes that exert continuous pressures on developing children to acquire certain knowledge, competence, behavior patterns, attitudes, and aspirations.
5. Descriptions of the social roles and patterns of behavior that are differentially permitted or demanded of children according to their age, sex, race, social class, religious affiliation, and region of the country inhabited.
6. Descriptions of the educational significance of individual differences in health, vigor, knowledge, skills, attitudes, values, and aspirations among children as these are related to the different social roles played by their families, peer groups, races, sex, age groups, and social class in our society.
7. Descriptions of the processes by which the self is differentiated and becomes organized as a result of interacting with the physical environment, with other individuals, and with social processes.
8. Descriptions of the dynamic characteristics of the self as the individual acts both to achieve his goals and aspirations and to defend his own integrity, self-confidence, and self-respect.
9. Descriptions of the interaction of organic, social, and self-mediated processes as they shape the motivation of a child in a particular situation and as they mould the development of a child as a person through time.
10. Descriptions of the conditions, relationships, and experiences that are essential to wholesome development in various social groups and at different maturity levels.
11. Descriptions of the processes of group formation and of the dynamics that underlie the interaction of individuals in groups.

The greater part of this knowledge is omitted from most of the courses in psychology and child development that are a part of the professional education of teachers, nor is it included in the courses in the biological and social sciences usually studied by teachers. Yet the syntheses that have been made of scientific knowledge pertaining to human development indicate strongly that the developmental tasks, adjustment problems, defensive behavior, and motivation of children cannot be understood or diagnosed without the use of explanatory generalizations based

upon knowledge of such range. It follows that teachers already in service have a good deal of knowledge to acquire before they can make sound judgments about the children in their classes.

Other major inadequacies of pre-service education are listed below:

1. Such knowledge of the dynamics underlying human development and behavior as prospective teachers do acquire is rarely integrated in their minds. The synthesis of knowledge is neither promoted by appropriate organizing experiences nor evaluated by appropriate tests in most collegiate institutions. The result is that most teachers enter their professional careers without any organized theoretical formulation of principles with which to interpret the developmental tasks, adjustment problems, abilities, motivation, or behavior of their pupils.

2. Except in the case of graduate students being trained for clinical work, prospective teachers seldom are made aware of what must be known about an individual before his motivation can be interpreted.

3. Most teachers have received no practical training whatever in gathering and ordering the information about an individual and his group that is essential to valid interpretations of his ability and behavior.

4. Most teachers have received no practical training whatever in working out the meaningful relationships between facts about an individual child and relevant scientific generalizations about human development. Consequently, they do not know how to use scientific knowledge in diagnosing a child's developmental tasks, adjustment problems, defensive behavior, or abilities.

5. Courses on methods of teaching seldom point to adequate information about individual pupils and about the dynamic structure of class groups as factors to be considered in planning day-to-day classroom work or in making decisions when interacting with children. Adequate diagnoses of individuals' developmental tasks, adjustment problems, and motivations, and of the social structure of the class seldom are provided for students doing directed observation. Nor do discussions of observed classroom work usually deal with the use of scientific

concepts in forming hypotheses about the needs of the children observed as a basis for planning and carrying on classroom work with them.

6. Critic teachers and supervisors seldom provide student teachers with adequate information about pupils in the classes they are to teach. Nor are student teachers given information about the social structure and interpersonal relationships that exist in these classes. Criticisms of student teaching seldom are made in the light of diagnoses of the meaning of situations for individual pupils, of the developmental tasks of individuals, of their adjustment problems, or even of their abilities, values, and purposes. In other words, neither information about the children themselves nor scientific concepts on human development are used systematically in guiding the work of student teachers. This is true despite the fact that practice teaching is the chief means whereby prospective teachers are supposed to develop skill in devising and carrying out practical plans for facilitating the learning and adjustment of children.

It would be most unfortunate if the administrators and classroom teachers of our public schools, not to mention the college administrators and faculty members, who read this chapter should misunderstand the spirit in which it is written. We intend no blanket indictment of the profession as heartlessly unconcerned with pupil development nor of teacher education as carelessly superficial in its orientation. Quite the opposite is true. Teachers as a group are comparable to physicians in the earnestness and sincerity of their effort to be of service, and many colleges and universities are devoting high energy to improving the quality of teacher education. Our aim here is simply to be specific and concrete in pointing out those problems of teacher education that have as yet not been overcome. Because of this situation at the pre-service level school administrators face the necessity of providing in-service opportunities for the re-education of teachers. Whether or not anyone could or should have done better in the past is not the issue. The fact is that a tremendous opportunity exists to improve public education in the future.

LEADS FROM THE COMMISSION'S EXPERIENCE

The third question with which this chapter undertook to deal had to do with such leads as the work of the Commission on Teacher Education suggests for helping active teachers to acquire the equipment needed for a proper understanding of children. The staff is of the opinion that at least 75 percent of the teachers now in service are sufficiently intelligent and professionally concerned to gain the knowledge, skills, and values relative to child growth that were described in the preceding section of this chapter. We also believe that they can do this most effectively through a program of study carried out by the school system itself, with some advice and assistance from outside experts. There is no thought that these in-service programs should all follow the same pattern. Each system has its own combination of resources, personnel problems, theoretical orientation, and traditions that must be reckoned with in planning and administering an effective piece of work.

Experience in the several school systems that took part in the Commission's cooperative study of teacher education indicates that the following considerations are likely to be significant in planning such a program:

1. The context for any in-service project should be a continuous program of professional education on the job, combining voluntary study groups during the school year and summer workshops conducted by the school system. Such a program tends to develop the necessary group solidarity and professional spirit throughout the system, as well as to permit flexibility in developing and maintaining the desirable range of activities. It also tends to insure maximum use of the capacities and resources of the entire school staff.¹

2. The direct study of one or two "normal" children by each teacher seems to provide participants with tasks that soon help them to see what knowledge and skill they need, and appreciate the value for classroom work of sharpened insight into child behavior.

¹ See Charles E. Prall and C. Leslie Cushman, *Teacher Education in Service* (Washington: American Council on Education, 1944), particularly Chapter V.

3. Attempts to interpret the developmental tasks, adjustment problems, and maturity levels of individual children induce the realization of a need for an organized body of explanatory principles. This motivates the accumulation of scientific information as a necessary activity parallel to the study of particular youngsters.

4. The services of one or two consultants are usually needed. Their many functions include counseling with leaders in conducting the program, guiding the study and interpretation of individual children, leading the study of scientific facts and principles, presenting new or complex scientific findings, sharing in discussions, guiding the development of group leaders, training individuals in the use of specific techniques, assisting with interpreting the program to the community, and helping to report outstanding aspects of the program to the profession. The functions of consultants in actual practice vary, of course, with their several abilities and characteristics.

5. Summer workshops of varying length have been very effective in some communities. They have been found especially useful in discovering and training new leaders on the school staff, for intensive practice in interpreting cumulated information about particular children, for filling in gaps in scientific knowledge, for promoting mutual acquaintance, for bringing administrators and classroom teachers together as program participants, and for evaluating the work in order to plan next steps.

6. The selection and training of the program leader is of great importance. Special opportunities for increasing the leader's knowledge of the child as an organism, as an object of acculturation, or as a developing personality may be needed. Or the leader may require additional experience in collaborative undertakings and group methods of study. By such means the program leader may be helped to define his own role clearly and to perfect himself in the procedures he will be called on to use.

7. It has usually been found desirable to begin the program on a voluntary basis and to expand its scope gradually in rela-

tion to the characteristics, needs, and desires of the school personnel. The development and training of group leaders must be taken into consideration when planning the expansion of the work.

8. The attitudes of the superintendent of schools and his immediate associates have been found to be crucially related to the success or failure of child-study programs. Permissiveness is not enough; genuine conviction as to the importance of the program is essential.

9. Helping the teachers of a school system to understand their pupils fully is a long-term project. Some aspects of the work are likely to become permanent features of the system's professional activity. Other aspects will be of concern to specific groups for differing lengths of time, depending on their backgrounds of training and experience.

The staff of the division on child development and teacher personnel of the Commission on Teacher Education does not propose a program of child study for teachers in service as the nostrum for all educational ills. It does maintain that such a program will result in considerable improvement in the professional effectiveness of classroom teachers, and that it will lead in time to curricular changes, to vitalized counseling procedures, and to keeping better records on the development of individual pupils.

THE AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION

GEORGE F. ZOOK, *President*

The American Council on Education is a *council* of national educational associations; organizations having related interests; approved universities, colleges, and technological schools; state departments of education; city school systems; selected private secondary schools; and selected educational departments of business and industrial companies. It is a center of cooperation and co-ordination whose influence has been apparent in the shaping of American educational policies as well as in the formulation of American educational practices during the past twenty-six years. Many leaders in American education and public life serve on the commissions and committees through which the Council operates.

Established by the Council in 1938, the Commission on Teacher Education consists of the persons whose names appear on a front page of this publication. It operates through a staff under the supervision and control of a director responsible to the Commission.



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